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*To dear Mr. Allan R. Bomhard
with the best wishes -*

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ČATO GUDŽEDŽIANI
MYKOLAS L. PALMAITIS

AUKŠTUTINIŲ SVANŲ KALBOS GRAMATIKA
SU TEKSTŲ PAVYZDŽIAIS



VILNIUS „MOKSLAS“ 1986

In Memory of Our Teacher
MAKSIME KALDANI
1913–1981

CHATO GUDJEDJIANI
MYKOLAS L. PALMAITIS

UPPER SVAN: GRAMMAR AND TEXTS



VILNIUS MOKSLAS PUBLISHERS 1986

СБОРНИК НАУЧНЫХ ТРУДОВ ВЫСШИХ УЧЕБНЫХ ЗАВЕДЕНИЙ ЛИТОВСКОЙ ССР
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Description des langues

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PRATARMĖ

Iki šiol neaprašytos aukštutinių svanų kalbos gramatika su tekstais yra dalis mūsų 1983 m. angliškai parengto darbo „Aukštutinių svanų kalba“. Kita dalis – svanų-anglų kalbų žodynas (su anglų-svanų žodžių indeksu) – išleista Niujorke 1985 m. Kartvelų kalbas studijavau gyvendamas Gruzijoje 1976–1980 metais. Jomis domėtis paskatino T. Gamkrelidzės ir G. Mačavariano veikalas „Sonantų sistema ir ablautas kartvelų kalbose“ (1965), kuriame iškeltas labai archaiškas indoeuropiečių ir kartvelų kalbų izomorfizmas. Po to jau ir pats atkreipiau dėmesį į gana įdomius baltų ir kartvelų kalbų tipologinius (ir net materialinius) panašumus. Dalis jų pateko ir į šią gramatiką. Visų archaiškiausios kartvelų kalbos – svanų kalbos – studijavimas bei lyginimas su archaiškiausiomis indoeuropiečių kalbomis – baltų kalbomis – pravers tyrinėjant pačių indoeuropiečių kalbų genezę.

Kol gramatikos rankraštis laukė savo valandos leidybiniame skyriuje, tragiškai mirė mano gyvenimo draugė *Juzefa Pučinskaitė* (1940–1985), Vilniaus universiteto klasikinės filologijos katedros auklėtinė, puiki lotynistė, Vyriausiosios Enciklopedijų redakcijos etimologė ir akcentologė, viena pagrindinių „Tarptautinių žodžių žodyno“ (Vilnius, 1985) sudarytojų. Savąją darbo dalį skiriu ir jos šviesiam atminimui.

M. L. Palmaitis
Vilnius, 1986 m. birželis

PREFACE

While offering this Book to the reader, we must emphasize that it is the first attempt at a complete description of Svan grammar and lexics (with a dictionary published separately), that our description is concise, not exhaustive, and that our work is essentially independent of the current investigations of Svan carried out in Tbilisi by Th. Sharadzenidze, Z. Chumburidze, I. Chantladze, A. Oniani, K. Gagua, I. Melikishvili, a. o.

The first informers of Svan were J. A. G ü l d e n s t ä d t in 1787, 1791 and J. K l a p r o t h in 1814. The pioneer of the study of Svan was G. R o s e n with his „Ossetische Sprachlehre nebst einer Abhandlung über das Mingrelische, Suanische und Abchasische“ (Berlin, 1846) followed by the grammatical outlines of P. U s l a r in 1887, A. G r e n and M. Z a w a d z k i in 1890, etc. A. T s a g a r e l i, H. S c h u c h a r d t, A. D i r r, a. o. considerably contributed to the study. N. M a r r, who had defined the dialectal division of Svan, opened up a new epoch of scholarly (and anti-scholarly) studies which acquired precise substantiation only after the appearance of modern kartvelology due to the works of A. S h a n i d z e. The latter's "Umlaut im Suanischen" (1925) must be regarded as the first sample of modern svanology. One of the founders of the Georgian University (1918), A. S h a n i d z e was initiator of the recording of Svan folklore and of its systematic publishing. A complete description of Svan was started by V. T o p u r i a but he had time to publish only the first fundamental part – "The Verb" (1931, 2nd ed. 1967). The other parts have not appeared yet although in the preface to that book he writes: "... we have no complete survey of the Svan language". Nor 16 years after 1967, when we are writing these lines, have the things essentially changed, and this fact worries many scholars because of the great importance of Svan for the research of the genesis of the Kartvelian phenomenon: "In conclusion, may I suggest some necessary tasks for the future /.../: a) detailed investigation of Svan with the aim of compiling a historical grammar of this relative-chronologically conservative language" (K.-H. S c h m i d t, 1978).

The present Book, prepared by us in the spring of 1982 in Vilnius, may not be such a detailed investigation, yet it may serve as a model for it. Thus we had neither time, nor conditions to investigate the interesting problem of Svan prosody. However, the question has been already set in this Book.

The said Tbilisian scholars, although sometimes representing diametrically opposite views, usually follow one or another standard, once settled and accepted as traditional and unshakable. Such standards will be, for instance, "the mixed character of Svan"

(N. Marr, A. Chikobava), the five types of Svan declension (Th. Sharadzenidze), the description of the verb according to the opposition of subjective persons to objective persons (A. Shanidze). Let nobody be offended, these are just the views we have repudiated here. Being independent, we endeavoured to evade the influence of any authority and to take a detached view of the language which, by the way, is vernacular to one of us. The paradoxical result of this impartiality is that we have accepted the views of Th. Gamkrelidze and G. Machavariani on the pure Kartvelian character of Svan and its phonology, the view of Th. Gamkrelidze on the verbal valency in Kartvelian and the view of M. Machavariani on the dominant opposition of communicant and non-communicant persons in the verbal system, on the category of version, reflexivization and voice. All this has been applied in the linguistic description of Kartvelian for the first time.

All grammatical examples in this Book were provided or checked up by Miss Ch. Gudjedjani, as well as the grammatical analysis of the Texts and their semantical interpretation. She is the author of the essentially new definition of the screeves 8, 9, 10, erroneously defined by V. Topuria as two screeves identical with the real screeve 8. Sections 1 and 2 (Phonetics) as well as the definition of the declensional types, the description of the Verb in accordance with the theory of M. Machavariani, and the morphemical division of the Texts belong to L. Palmaitis, who is also the author of sections 5 (Derivation), 6 (Lexics), and of the Comments. The English language of the Book has been improved by Prof. L. Valeika, Vilnius University.

One of the Authors being an inveterate diachronist, it was impossible not to touch upon diachrony. In all the sections of the Grammar, except the last, some diachronical remarks are presented in the foot-notes; however, the last section, Lexics, is entirely diachronical.

The Book is dedicated to the memory of M. Kaldani, a unique Svanolog, author of the large Dictionary of all the four dialects of Svan (in print), an honourable scholar and an engaging teacher whose lectures we have enjoyed attending at the State University of Tbilisi. We should like to express our gratitude to our other teachers of Kartvelian, Svan and the Caucasian languages and to all who have supported and made our common work possible, including the kartvelological probation of L. Palmaitis in Georgia in 1976–1980: Acad. A. Shanidze, Acad. Th. Gamkrelidze, Acad. K. Lomtadze, Acad. Sh. Dzidzighuri, Prof. Z. Chumburidze, Prof. M. Shanidze, Prof. G. Rogava, Prof. Th. Sharadzenidze, Prof. S. Djorbenadze, Prof. E. Babunashvili, Prof. I. Kavtaradze, Prof. G. Kartoziya, Prof. E. Dochanashvili, Prof. M. Chartolani, Acad. M. Andronikashvili, M. Machavariani, A. Oniani, Ts. Chartolani, G. Bziava, M. Nedospasova, A. Nedospasova, A. Romelashvili, E. Eliashvili, Ts. Chikvaidze, U. Turashvili, D. Tserediani, N. Tserediani, S. Tserediani, R. Naveriani, T. Djaparidze, V. Saghliani, M. Karumidze, K. Khvelediani, Prof. Z. Sardjveladze, I. Melikishvili, Prof. Y. Zytsar, Z. Kiknadze, Acad. V. Mažulis, Prof. H. Zabulis, Acad. J. Kubilius, Prof. A. Bikelis, Prof. A. Girdenis, J. Bernotas, V. Timinskaitė, G. Carr-Harris. L. Palmaitis also thanks his father, who has made many travels possible, the Rev. A. Talačka, who also supported these adventures materially, and he bows to his wife, who has endured them all.

Vilnius – Mestia, May 1983.

ABBREVIATIONS

a.	adjective	ia.	inanimate
A., attr.	attribute, adjunct	ID.	indicative
ABS.	nominative-absolutive case	IE.	Indo-European
ACC.	accusative case	IF.	imperfect
an.	animate	IKE	iberiul-kavkasiuri enatmecnie-reba. Ibero-Caucasica. Metsnie-reba Publishing House, Tbilisi
anat.	anatomical term		
ao.	anthroponym	inan.	inanimate
AOR.	aorist	INC.	inclusive
Arab.	Arabic	innov.	innovation
Aram.	Aramaic	INST.	instrumental case
arch.	archaic	int.	interjection
Arm.	Armenian	inv.	inversive (verb)
av.	adverb	IP.	imperative
B.	Bal	irg.	interrogative
Balt.	Baltic	iter.	iterative
biol.	biological term	IVS.	intraversion
BK	Bedi Kartlisa. Revue de Kartvéologie, Paris	Kartv.	Kartvelian
		KESS	kartvelur enata strukturis saqitxebi, Voprosy struktury kartvel'skix jazykov. Metsnie-reba, Tbilisi
bot.	botanical term		
brb.	evident loan-word	L. (Bal)	Lower
CNJ.	conjunctive	L(O, S)	logical (object, subject)
COND.	conditional	Lat.	Latin
conj.	conjunction	Latv.	Latvian
cs.	causative	Lith.	Lithuanian
d.	dynamic (verb)	LLS.	children language
DAT.	dative case	LOC.	locative
dem.	demonstrative	m.	masdar
dur.	durative	Macne	Macne. Izvestija Akademii nauk Gruzinskoj SSR, Serija jazyka i literatury. Metsnie-reba, Tbilisi
eccl.	ecclesiastical term		
EXC.	exclusive	md.	medium
ExVS.	extraversion	Megr.	Megrelian (Mingrelian)
fem.	feminine, female	myth.	mythological word
FT.	future	n.	noun
FU.	Finno-Ugrian	N. C.	North-Caucasian word
GEN.	genitive case		
Geor.	Georgian		
Gk.	Greek		
Got.	Gothic		
hybr.	hybrid word		
i	intransitive		

n. d.	verbal noun meaning a place of destination, a vessel or an instrument
n. g.	verbal noun meaning a goal or destination
NOM.	nominative-absolutive case
n. r.	verbal noun of the resulted state
NVS.	neutral version
(NVS)	neutral version not expressed by a versionizer
O.	object; Old
Od.	direct object
Oi.	indirect object
P., p.	predicate, predicative
PASS.	passive
pc.	participle
pers.	person
PF.	perfect
Pit.	intransitive predicate
PL., pl.	plural
pm.	permansive
Pn.	pronoun
Pr.	(Old) Prussian
praes.	present
PRT.	preterite
PPF.	plu-perfect
Pt.	transitive predicate
PTC.	particle
PV.	preverb
PV'.	secondary preverb
PX.	prefix
RX.	reflexive
rel.	relative
rsl.	resultativeness
S.	(grammatical) subject
SF.	suffix
SG.	singular
SK.	saenatmecniero krebuli, Studies in Linguistics. Metsniereba, Tbilisi 1979

Skr.	Sanskrit
Sl.	Slavic
st.	static (verb)
t	transitive
(t)	verb conforming to the ergative subject but having no direct object
tech.	technical term
TFM.	transformative case
to.	toponym
TUGA	tbilisi universiteti giorgi axvledians, Tbilisi University to George Akhvlediani. Tbilisi 1969
TZES	tanamedrove zogadi enatmecnierebis sakitxebi, Voprosy sovremennogo obščego jazykoznanija. Metsniereba, Tbilisi
U.	Upper
v	-valent
vis.	versus
VS.	version
x	stem reduction
Ž KEKŠ	zveli kartuli enis katedris šromebi. Tbilisi University Press
1-3	verbal valency
1-8	types of declension in nouns
1-13	screeves in verbs
2 sg., 3 sg	second, third person singular
3 pl.	third person plural
-	morphemes' boundary
+	no boundary between morphemes
"	apocope of vowel due to elision
" "	"IVS", "ExVS" - author-matical use of the versionizers;
	"PASS" the so-called passive formant while deprived of the passive meaning
↘	(q) sign for a vowel reduced
↗	see, compare

GENERAL REMARKS

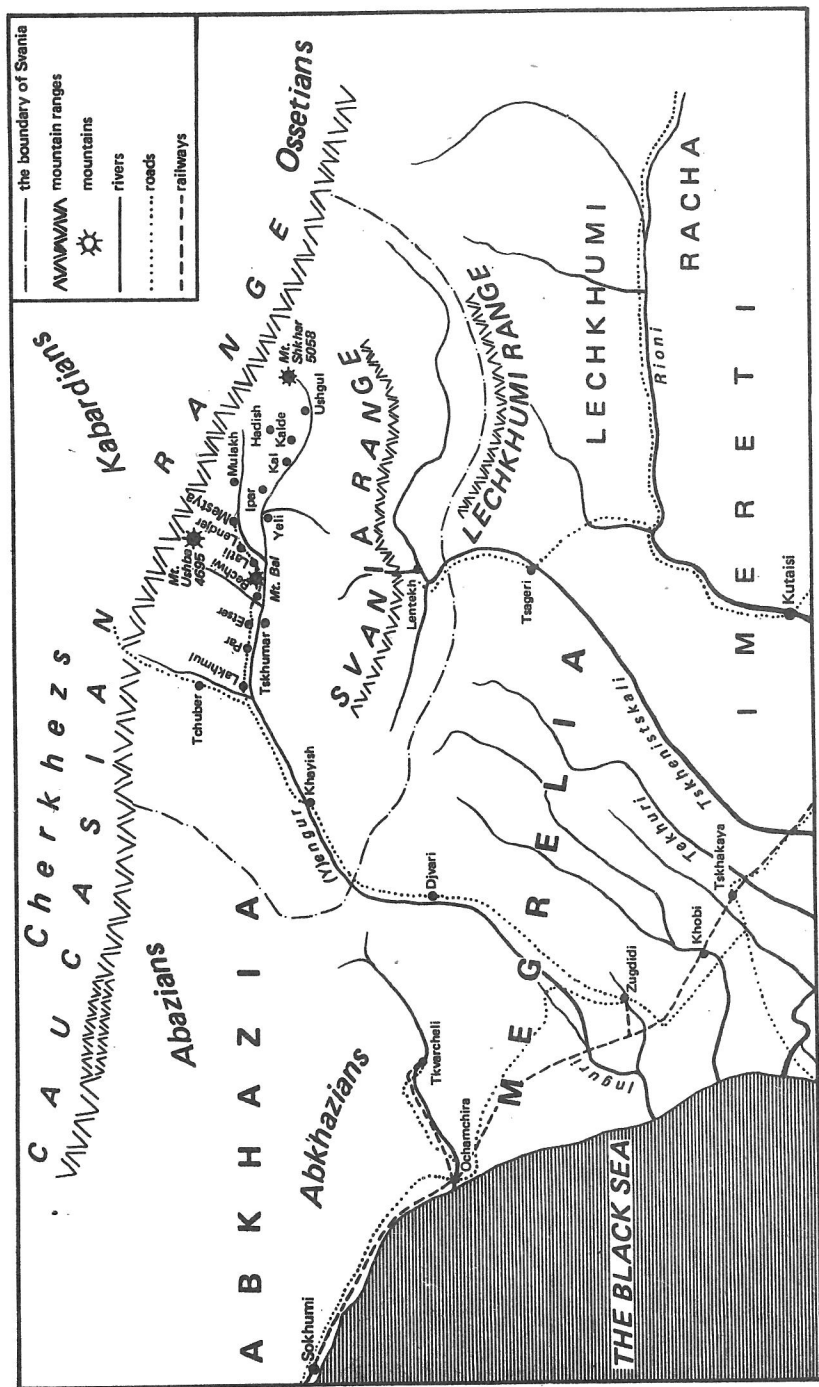
1.0. Svan as a member of the Kartvelian linguistic family.

Svan forms one of the three branches of *Kartvelian*, the other branches being *Zan* with *Megrelian* ("Mingrelian") and *Laz (Chan)* dialects and Georgian with 16 dialects. All Kartvelian languages are spoken on the territory of the Georgian SSR and 4 dialects exist outside it (three Georgian dialects in Azerbaijan, Iran and Turkey, and the Laz dialect of Zan in Turkey).

The name Kartvelian comes from the ethnonym of Georgian *kartvel-i* which, according to the newest hypothesis of A. Shaniдзе (1978₂), is supposed to be the name of *p a r t h s*, the Iranian nation whose military detachments in the 3rd c. B.C. came from Parthava, colonized the Mtskhethian part of Georgia, founded there a monarchy and in the following centuries were entirely assimilated to the local population leaving to the latter their name *partvel-i* 'Parthava-man'*. Georgian is the only Kartvelian language belonging to a high culture, having a rich and ancient literary tradition. The first documents of it (O. Georgian) are dated from the beginning of the 5th c.A.D. (epigraphic inscriptions from Palestine). It is significant for this study that the earliest Georgian documents (up to the 8th c.A.D.) are characterized by the so-called *khanmetoba*, the redundancy of *khan-i* (the name of the letter *x* in the Georgian alphabet), i. e. by the prefix *x-* as the verbal subjective formant of the 2nd, and the indirect-objective formant of the 3rd persons. From the 8th, 9th c. the haemet texts are known with *h-* ("hae") in the place of *x*. Both may also appear before the versional marker *-i-*. For the later fate of *h-* see Shaniдзе, 1982 (1978₁). For centuries Georgian has been the only literary language for Svans, Megreli and Lazs, though they have rich folklore traditions of their own, texts having been recorded from the end of the 19th c.

Svans, who live high in the mountains in the north-west of Georgia on the slopes of the Svania Range (to the south from the Main Caucasian Range), due to their geographical isolation, have preserved many archaic features in their culture, folklore and language, which may help the investigator to reconstruct the origin of the Kartvelian phenomenon. There are a number of contradictory views on the latter. According to one of them (A. Chikobava) Kartvelian is genetically related to North Caucasian (Abkhaz-Adyghe, Daghestan) forming a southern branch of

*This hypothesis has not been yet generally adopted; a more persuasive one is not known to us. For the correspondence *p* → *k* cf. Geor. *papa* 'porridge' → Svan *kak*.



hypothetical Ibero-Caucasian. According to another view (G. Machavariani, K.-H. Schmidt) it is a separate linguistic family showing typological closeness to Indo-European and Caucasian, or (Th. Gamkrelidze, G. Tsereteli) it is a separate family typologically close to Indo-European and formed on the basis of Indo-European during the process of its caucasization (Gamkrelidze-Machavariani, 1965, 1982). The investigations of G. Deeters, G. Klimov, Th. Gamkrelidze and G. Machavariani show Svan to have been the first to separate from Common Kartvelian (after the 19th c.B.C.). After the 8th c.B.C. Common Georgian-Zan splits, Zan dividing into Laz and Megrelian in the time of the final formation of Georgian but before the present state of Svan.

As for Svan, from the very beginning of its research (accidentally in the 19th c., systematically from the beginning of the 20th c.) it is known in 4 main dialects: Lentekh and Lashkh in Lower Svania, Upper Bal and Lower Bal (named after the interstitial mountain Bal) in Upper Svania. The historical settlements of the Upper-Bal speakers are Ushgul (the highest settlement, ca. 2,500 m., in the East), Hadish, Khalde, Kal, Ipar, Yeli, Tswirmi, Mulakh, Mestya (centre), Lendjer, Latli. They are followed in the West by Bechwí, Tskhumar, Etser, Par, Nakra, Lakhmul, Luz, Lower Ipar, Chuber and Khayish where Lower Bal is spoken. Almost all of these settlements are surrounded by or consist of a number of smaller villages. There are about 35,000 Svans nowadays, ca. 18,800 of them speak Upper Svan (i. e. Upper and Lower Bal), ca. 9,800 speaking Upper Bal.

The typical features of Svan phonetics are reduction, umlaut and quantitative vowel gradation, the latter distinguishing Svan from Zan and Georgian. All together these features are represented only in Upper Bal which is therefore the most typical Svan dialect. There are no quantitative vocalic oppositions in Lower Bal, no umlaut in Lashkh, no reduction and quantitative oppositions in Lentekh. The latter is important as it has preserved the non-reduced historical vocalism. Lashkh is interesting as presenting some final results of the umlaut, e. g. $e \rightarrow \tilde{a}$.

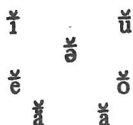
As the Upper-Bal forms are mostly cited in various comparative studies, this dialect is to be described in the first place. Further we endeavour to give a general characteristic of Upper Svan and a more specified characteristic of Upper Bal. It means that only those peculiarities of Lower Bal (except the absence of the quantitative oppositions) are dealt with, which constitute a distinctive feature of this dialect in comparison with Upper Bal.

As for Lentekh and Lashkh, the specific character of their isoglosses demands a separate outline.

PHONETICS

2.0. The phonological system of Upper Bal consists of 44 phonemes, 14 of them being vowels. Since there is no vocalic length in Lower Bal, there are 37 phonemes in it. As well as in the other Kartvelian languages, the phonological class of sonants is not represented in Svan because Proto-Kartvelian sonants have become vocalized (Gamkrelidze—Machavariani, 1965, 1982). The articulatory characteristic of all segmental units of Upper Svan is the following: syllabic low open back *a*, syllabic low palatal open front *ä*, syllabic mid labial open back *o*, syllabic mid palatal front *e*, syllabic mid/high close centre *ə*, syllabic high labial close back *u*, syllabic high palatal close front *i*, plosive labio-labial pulmonic voiced *b*, plosive labio-labial pulmonic voiceless aspirated *p*, plosive labio-labial ejective voiceless *p̥* (glottalized *p*'), plosive apico-alveolar pulmonic voiced *d*, plosive apico-alveolar pulmonic voiceless aspirated *t*, plosive apico-alveolar ejective voiceless *t̥* (*t'*), plosive apico-prealveolar pulmonic voiced *ʒ* (affricate *dʒ*), plosive apico-prealveolar pulmonic voiceless aspirated *c* (*ts'*), plosive apico-prealveolar ejective voiceless *c̥* (*t's*), plosive apico-postalveolar pulmonic voiced *ʒ̥* (*dʒ̥*), plosive apico-postalveolar pulmonic voiceless aspirated *č̥* (*tʃ̥*), plosive apico-postalveolar ejective voiceless *č̥̥* (*tʃ̥̥*), plosive dorso-velar pulmonic voiced *g*, plosive dorso-velar pulmonic voiceless aspirated *k*, plosive dorso-velar ejective voiceless *k̥* (*k'*), plosive dorso-uvular pulmonic voiceless aspirated *q*, plosive dorso-uvular ejective voiceless *q̥* (*q'*), fricative apico-prealveolar pulmonic voiced *z*, fricative apico-prealveolar pulmonic voiceless aspirated *s*, fricative apico-postalveolar pulmonic voiced *ʒ*, fricative apico-postalveolar pulmonic voiceless aspirated *š*, fricative dorso-velar pulmonic voiced *ɣ*, fricative dorso-velar pulmonic voiceless aspirated *x*, fricative pharyngeal pulmonic voiceless aspirated *h*, frictionless labio-labial voiced continuant *w*, frictionless dorso-palatal voiced continuant *j*, nasal labio-labial pulmonic voiced *m*, nasal apico-alveolar pulmonic voiced *n*, lateral apico-alveolar *l*, rolled apico-alveolar *r*.

2.1.1. Vocal phonemes may be described as having trapezial correlation:



We do not agree with T h. Gamkrelidze and G. Machavariani (1965, 1982) it is cubic — one cannot ascribe the phonological status to the combinations *wē*, *wī*: no phonemes *ō̃*, *ū̃* can be ascertained on the contemporary level of description already

because of the existence of the phonemes /w/, /ě/, /ĩ/. It could be applied only to morphonemes realized through the combinations of phonemes /w + ě/ and /w + ĩ/. In fact it is impossible to differentiate the etymological combinations wě, wĩ from the umlautized ō, ũ, cf. *kwen* 'marten' with the etymological -w + e- (Geor. *kwer-na*) and *skwēr* 'rank' with the umlautized ō (av. *skōruš* 'in ranks') or *xwigem* 'I build it for myself' with the etymological -w + i- and *worwišd* 'five' with the umlautized u (Geor. *xuti*). The cluster wě (etymological or not) manifests as pure [ō] after #m. 2.1.2. Various degrees of umlaut can be observed mostly by comparing corresponding grammatical forms with ablaut alternations:

ā	→	ǣ	→	ē
ō	→	wě	→	eē
ū	→	wĩ	→	ī
ũ	→		→	ĩ

cf. *otčon* "thou hast tied" vrs. *otčwēn* "he has tied", or *azgub* "thou hast destroyed" vrs. *azgwib* "he has destroyed", *qan-ār* "oxen" vrs. *qān* "ox". The grades ě, ĩ in the second and in the third instances are in fact the result of delabialization in certain positions (cf. 2.3.5). The redistribution of these combinations with the transference of w to the end of the word after metathesis is also attested, e. g. *pwir* "cow" and *pirw*. In Lower Bal such final -w is dropped as a rule: *pir*, or: U.B. *bepšw* "child" vrs. L.B. *bepš**.

Umlaut may be both palatal and non-palatal.

2.1.2.1. The main rules of the palatal umlaut are:

a) the strongest umlautizer is *i*; it causes the *ā*-umlaut unconditionally, therefore the umlautizing of *ā* appears to be a living phenomenon; the umlautizing of *ō* and *ū*, which is possible merely by *i*, is historical as *i* has not been preserved;

b) *e*, when short and thus subject to reduction, is the umlautizer of the single *a* (historical umlaut):

NOM. *ladeγ* "day" — GEN. *lādγiš*;

c) *i* and *e*, while being a result of umlaut, do not umlautize any vowels;

d) *ā* may be umlautized in all positions, *ō* and *ū* — provided they belong to the stem.

2.1.2.2. M. Kaldani (1969) has discovered the non-palatal umlaut operating in the opposite direction, i. e. *e* or *i* are lowered to *ā* under the influence of the following *a*, *o* > *w*, *w* which may undergo reduction:

Geor. *dideba* "glory" → Svan *didāb*

*Usually historical umlautizing of *ā* to *ē* and of *ā* to *ĩ* is pointed out. I. Melikishvili (1981) argues the first and supposes the umlautizing of the labialized *a* > *o* with the subsequent dropping of *w*, e. g. **žaywi* "dog" > **žoywi* > **žwey* > **žeyw* > *žey*. This is not to be excluded at least in words with more than two consonants, although the very example **žāywi* > *žey* is doubtful (the result would have been **žwey* > **žeyw* > **žāy* as in Geor. *toķi* "rope" → Svan *tweķ* > *tāķ*, see 2.1.2.2) while in words with two consonants *ā* > *ā* > *ē* is still to be supposed, cf. Svan *ješd* < **(j)āf* (for **f* > *šd* see Melikishvili, 1981), Geor. *ati* "ten". The final result of such processes is represented in Lashkh.

Geor. *gemo* "taste" → *gemw* > *gām*

Geor. *satitur-i* "thimble" → *satitwir* > *sätetwr* > *sätätwr*

(all the stages are represented).

2.1.3. Reduction is not old – there was no reduction in the 13th–14th c. Svan, as it is seen from the ecclesian "Matiane" lists of deceased souls. Up to now no reduction has occurred in Lentekh. In Zan, also, reduction has hardly developed. Some data show the onset of the word to be stronger in respect to reduction in comparison with the ultima where all historically long vowels seem to have been reduced to short ones and all the short vowels – to zero (cf. DAT. *māra* "to a man" < **ā*, but *kor-s* "to a house" < **a* because of GEN. *korāš* in comparison with *bāk* "untruth", GEN. *bākīš*).

If a prefix and a suffix are added to a stem, only the prefix causes the reduction of the stem vocalism. The short vowel of the syllable coming immediately after or preceding that, which causes reduction, is reduced to zero, *u* (sometimes *o*) being reduced to *w* (*u* → *w* is possible even in Lentekh with no reduction). Long vowels are never reduced:

U. B. *addāwše* < (Lentekh) *addāwaše* (*ad-*, *-e* being affixes) "I have offended (against him)"

U. B. *ləpxenid* < (Lentekh) *ləpxenid* (*lə-*, *-en-* being affixes) "we all are turned back".

2.1.4. The main rules of elision and contraction in Upper Svan are the following:

a) elision or contraction of the final vowel with the initial *i-* or *u-* of the following word is impossible;

b) the combinations *-o + a-*, *-o + e-*, *-u + e-* do not contract;

c) the contraction of the same vowels (the elision of the final vowel before the same initial vowel of the following word in Lower Bal) results in one (Upper Bal long) vowel of the same quality:

ka anqad → *k'ānqad* "(he) came out"

imte esyrid → *imt'esyrid* "where will you go?"

d) by the elision (*-o*, *-u* turning into *w*/) before a different vowel the resulting vowel is long in Upper Bal if the one vanished was not *i*; in Lower Bal the apheresis of the initial vowel is also possible:

ka ādqid → *k'ādqid* "he has payed"

ka eseru adḱwār → *k'ēseru adḱwār* "let him throw (it) out, he says"

korte onqu → *kort'ōnqu* "I have brought (it) home"

do esguras → *ḱw'ēsguras* "nor (let him) seat (him)!"

ču aḱre → *čw'aḱre* "(he) opens (it)"

U. B. *ži ade* → *ž'ade* "go!"

U. B. *ži esad* → *ž'esad* "thou hast put (it)"

U. B. *ži oxḱid* → *ž'oxḱid* "(he) has taken (it) from him"

L. B. *ka eserow aḱwār* → *ka'serow aḱwār* "let him throw (it) out, he says"

L. B. *amži eser legd* → *amži'ser legd* "so badly, he says"

-u of the preverb *ču* is always dropped by elision in Lower Bal:

ču otdagra → *č* "otdagra" "(he) killed (it) for him" (Kaldani, 1953).

2.2.1. The system of consonants is characterized by such typical Kartvelian and Caucasian (as well as Proto-Indo-European, Gamkrelidze-Ivanov, 1984) feature as the 3 series of stops and fricatives: voiced, voiceless-glottalized and voiceless aspirated:

	labials	dentals	sibilants	velars	back uvulars	pharyngeal
voiced						
glottalized	b	d	ʒ	g	ɣ	ħ
aspirated	p	t	s	k	q	h

The resonants are: /j/, /w/, /m/, /n/, /l/, /r/.

Besides, there are morphonemic clusters *sg*, *šg*, *šk* functioning as phonemes similar to Zan *šg*, *šk*, *čk*.

2.2.2. As for the resonants, *w* may be met as prothetic (*od* || *wod* "until") and *-j* as filling hiatus (*ije* "yes", *lijēšxwe* "to unite") or prothetic (*ješd* || *ešd* "ten"). We write *w* and *j* everywhere, whether they are etymological or not.

/w/ shows some peculiarities. It is realized as a bilabial voiced fricativeless [ɰ] in all positions except *t-a*, *l-a*, *e*, *V-V* and *-j*. In the two latter instances it is pronounced as a bilabial voiced fricative [w] (*gawa* "force", *sāwjāš* "of North Caucasus") while in the three former instances it merges with the preceding consonants *t*, *l* and results in labialized [tʰ] (pronounced as in Abkhaz), [lʰ] (*āt̪wāra* [āt̪ʰāra] "tepid", *kalwāš* [kalʰāš] "of a threshing-floor", *alwerda* [aʰl̪erda] "(he) corned beef"). Between two consonants *C-C* *w* is pronounced as a semi-vowel [ɰ] though short and weak. The same is true of the final position after a consonant *C-#*. Since in the latter instance *w* does not manifest syllabic, it cannot be considered a sonant: *likw/še* "to crack", *likw/du/ne* "cheating", *bepšw* "child".

2.2.3. The correspondences of sibilants between the Kartvelian languages are crucial for the division of the family into the West (Svan, Zan) and East (Georgian) areas. According to the current reconstructions, Proto-Kartvelian sibilants correlated as follows:

Opinion I G. Machavariani, G. Klimov						Opinion II G. Tsereteli(1), K. H. Schmidt(2)					
front series	ʒ	c	ç	z	s	ʒ	c	ç	z	s	front series
middle series	ʒ₁	c₁	ç₁	z₁	s₁	ʒ̣	ç̣	ç̣	ẓ	ṣ̌	back series
back series	ʒ̣	ç̣	ç̣	(ẓ̌)	ṣ̌	ʒ̣	ç̣	ç̣	(ẓ̌)	ṣ̌	1. back velarized or
						ʒ̣g	ç̣k	ç̣k	(ẓ̌g)	ṣ̌k	2. clusters' series

I: While in the Eastern area the middle series have turned into the front ones, thus coinciding with the original front series, in the Western area they have turned into the back series, the original back series having produced clusters **žg*, **čk*, **çk*, **šk*. Therefore, e.g. Geor. *s* may correspond to Svan and Zan *s* as well as to *š*.

II: In the Eastern area the back and the back velarized (G. Tsereteli), or clusters' series

(K. H. S c h m i d t) series merge into the back ones while in the Western area they merge into the back velarized, or clusters' series. The result is the same, i. e. Geor. *s* = Svan or Zan *s*, *š*.

Opinion II, now adhered to by I. M e l i k i s h v i l i, 1980 (Variant 2), more suits chronologically and typologically. H. F ä h n r i c h (1982), however, has recently shown the inadequacy of clusters (2). Since both I and II systems of signification are in a kind of complementary distribution and since they signify phonemes and not the real allophones, i. e. since they are mere conventional signs, we will adopt the first system for the sake of tradition and greater simplicity. The reader can choose for himself, whether, e. g.

/ʒ₁/ = [ʒ¹], /ʒ/ = [ʒ] or /ʒ₁/ = [ʒ], /ʒ/ = [ʒ'] (or [ʒg]), etc.

In Svan: *ʒg > *ʒg > sg

*ʒg > ʒg /-w

original *ʒg > zg > sg

*čk > *šk

> šg

*šk

šg > sg /-w

*čk > šk

sk > sg

As a result, the main correspondences between Georgian and Svan sibilants are:

Geor.	ʒ	č	c	z	s	ʒ	č	č	ž	š
Svan	ʒ, z, ʒ, ž	č, s, č, š	c, s, č, š	z, ž	s, š	sg(w)	šk	šg	—	šg

As for non-sibilants, the main correspondences are:

Geor.	g	ḡ	k	t
Svan*	ʒ, g	č, ḡ	č, k	šd, t

This complicates the final picture of correspondences between Svan and Georgian sibilants:

Svan	ʒ č c	z	s	sg(w)	ʒ	č	č	ž	š	šk	šg
Geor.	ʒ č c	ʒ, z	s, č, c	ʒ	ʒ, g	č, ḡ	c, k	ʒ, z	s, č, c	č	č, š

2.3.1. The articulatory sequence of Kartvelian consonant clusters is decessive (G. A k h v l e d i a n i) in most instances. In Svan these clusters are transformed as follows:

*The first members of the pairs are historically palatalized (the Kartvelian "satemization").

bg		pk	pk	by	qg	px
dg		tk	tk	dy	tg	tx
	šg	šk		žg	šq	šx
žg		čk	žg	(čg)		čx
	sg	sk			sq	sx
žg	(čg)	ck	žg	(čg)		cx

The clusters *čg*, *čk*, *čg* are not originally Svan since in Svan they have turned correspondingly into *šg*, *šk*, *sq*. Another two clusters with sibilants – *šd*, *št* – correspond to *šg*, *šk*. For *tw*, *lw*, see above 2.2.2. Accessive clusters (e. g. with *-w*) are combinative.

2.3.2. Among combinative changes assimilation is widespread. Spirants are assimilated to affricates, affricates to resonants, *n* to labials, *m* to praelinguals, pharyngals to uvulars, voiced to voiceless, e. g. *liçsi* > *liçci* "to invite"

niçlāw > *nizlāw* "bet"
linbe > *limbe* "to let have"
linçwme > *linçwme* "to witness"
liqhāl > *liqxāl* "to kiss"
lišdxe > *lištxe* "to exhaust".

The historical changes *nx* > *x* and *dx* > *t* are important to understand the 2nd-person forms with the preverbs *an-*, *ad-*, e. g. *axmāri* "thou wilt prepare", *atgemne* "thou wilt build", 4.3.2.2.1.

The assimilation of voiceless to voiced is alien to Svan, cf. *sga* "in", not *[*zga*]!

Diaeresis of *j* in position *w-V* is typical of Lower Bal, e. g. U. Bal *liçlāwjēl* vrs. L. Bal *liçlawel* "to litigate". For the disappearance of *w*, see 2.3.5 and 2.1.2.

If there is a labial in the stem, it accommodates *ə* incontinuously, e. g. *liji* "to take away", *ləje* "taken" vrs. *liçwile* "to marry" but *luçwile* "married"; *məzān* "Megrel (= Zan)man" but *murwis* "Russian" – *o* is possible as well as *u* after *m*: *mərdāb* > *murdāb* > *mordāb* "feeling of inconvenience").

2.3.3. It is interesting that the dissimilation of voiced is as preferable as the assimilation to voicelessness (the result is voiceless in both instances): *mižladāy* > *mišladāy* "Sunday".

The dissimilation *r* > *l* is apparent in the plural morpheme *-ār*: *māre* "man" – PL. *mārāl* < *-ār*.

2.3.4. Epenthesis, prothesis and metathesis are attested.

Epenthesis is richly represented by secondary nasalization:

lizwri → *linzōrāl* "to gather"
nēsga > *nēnsga* "in the middle"
na-n-gwmi "heaviness" out of *gwami* "heavy"
Geor. *a-čkar-eba* → *linčkre* "to hasten"
mepwēr > *mempwēr* "bird", etc.

For the epenthesis of *j* to fill hiatus, see 2.2.2.

For the prothesis of *w*, *j*, see ibidum.

For metathesis, *ligweb* > *libegw* "to be found" may be an example.

2.3.5. The superfluity of labials is avoidable in a word: *w* often disappears if there is another labial in the stem, cf. NOM/ABS. *eṣxu* "one" – DAT. *aṣxw* and NOM/ABS. *semi* (with *-i* recreated due to Georgian influence*) "three" – DAT. *sam*, as also NOM/ABS. *maṭ* "worm" < **maṭw*, Geor. *maṭl*.

2.3.6. All consonants (including resonants) are possible at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of the word. Clusters are also possible there instead of simple consonants. For vowels, except *u*, *i*, the initial position is weak. *ə* is impossible in it and joins the prothetic *j*- in Upper Bal: *j-agem* "he stands it up". *j*- is often added as well to *e*-, cf. *er||jer* "(in order) to", though *a*- and *ä*- join *h*-. *harāq* "whisky", *hāzw* "yard" (these borrowings from Geor. *araq-i*, *ezo* show the same process having taken place in the native words too). As for *o*-, it is especially avoided, e. g. *okwr* > *wokwr* "gold" with the prothetic *w*-. Many words with initial *o*-, *e*-, *a*-, *ä*- have them due to the preverbs *a*-, *ad*-, *an*-, *es*- since prothesis does not develop in preverbs. As for *u*- and *i*-, they never join the corresponding prothetic *w*-, *j*-.

2.3.7. There are at least 34 types of syllables in Svan. Syllables beginning with a vowel are initial and those ending in two or three consonants (not resonants!) are final. The others may occur in all positions. The patterns are: *V*-, *CV*-, *RV*-, *VC*-, *VR*-, *CVC*-, *RVR*-, *CVR*-, *RVC*-, *CRV*-, *VCR*-, *VRR*-, *VCC*-, *CVCR*-, *RVCR*-, *CRVC*-, *CRVR*-, *RCVR*-, *CRCV*-, *CVRR*-, *RRVC*-, *VCCR*-, *VRCR*-, *VRCC*-, *CVCRC*-, *CVCRR*-, *RVCRC*-, *CVRRC*-, *CRVRC*-, *CVCC*-, *VRCC*-, *CRVRC*-, *CRRVRC*-, where *R* is a resonant and *C* may be a simple consonant or a decessive cluster. The pattern *RCV* is absent because of the pleophony so typical of Svan and Zan. The patterns *VCC*-, *VRCC* are of one-syllable words, only. Most of the words consist of 2, 3 or 4 syllables in various combinations. The resonant *w*-, being a reflection of a vowel, belongs to the former syllable between two consonants of different syllables, e. g. *āngw||lez* "angel".

2.3.8. Among the morphonemic alternations some are of combinatorial origin. Cf. the coexistence of the two allomorphs of the ethnonymic prefix *mə*- and *mu*- (*məzān* "Megrel-man" vrs. *mušwān* "Svan-man"), the latter having occurred in accordance with 2.3.2.

As for the alternations with the grammatical function, i. e. the ablaut, Svan not only has a qualitative vowel gradation, as *a* : *ä*, or *a* : *e*, (*qän* "ox" : *qanär* "oxen", *žəy* "dog" : *žayw* "to a dog"), but it is the single Kartvelian language conserving all the grades of the ancient quantitative vowel gradation: the zero, the normal and the grade of lengthening (*liṭxe* "to return" : *aṭix* "he has returned" : *xoṭṭxa* "he is who returned", or: *berg* "hoe" : *libērgē* "to hoe").

2.4. Svan accent has not been investigated as yet. It seems to be free as it is especially clear in radical verbs with preverbs unstressed in the 3rd person in aorist and often stressed in the 1st and 2nd persons (T o p u r i a, 1967). As for the pitch accent (i. e. tone or the syllable accent), the problem has not been even set. The existence of the distinctive degrees of the vocalic length in Svan, side by side with the

*Geor. *sam-i*; cf. also *jōri*, Geor. *ori* "two" and Svan *jeru* "two". Numerals are weak in Kartvelian: nowadays the Svans often use Georgian numerals similarly as Georgians use Russian numerals.

"desonantized" tautosyllabic complexes of the Baltic type *īl, īr, ūl, ūr, ēl, ēr*, etc., makes us assume the possibility of the Baltic-like pitch-accent. In the course of our common work we have ascertained that: a) the length in the tautosyllabic complexes may be shorter than in the pure vocalic syllables: *ma:re* "man" vrs. *bi.nṭw* "fog", *de.mčiks* "never", or in a diphthong: *ečxa.wai* "a little to there", though *xola:mxānka* "from evil"; b) as well in the pure vocalic syllables the "longer" and the "shorter" variants of length occur: *le.sw* "be" (half-long) vrs. *ma:re* "man" (long) vrs. *la:no* "give us" (super-long).

Auditory experiments have shown that the Lithuanians auditors, who do not speak Svan but have two pitches in their native language, uniformly distinguish the different character of length in such homonyms as *lisōme* "to wait for unpleasant" and "to keep the rain out":

ču	ližrē	lisōme	maṁčir	i	gəgib	čukwān
PV'	getting-wet GEN	waiting NOM	I dislike	and	pineDAT	under
maḱu	lisōme					

I want keeping-out NOM

"I do not want to wait for getting wet and want to keep the rain out under a pine-tree" — the first *lisōme* seems to have the high pitch on *ō*.

Since this phenomenon has not been thoroughly examined, we did not dare mark the supposed tones in our dictionary though the differences in length sometimes are very distinct (cf. also in grammatical forms, e. g. *xwignid* "we shall be standing" vrs. *mēgṇi* "by me it will be standing" with the high and circumflex pitch).

SYNTAX

3.1. The linguistic structure of Svan is typically Kartvelian and is characterized by the existence of the nominative, ergative and dative typology of sentences. The corresponding constructions appear at the intersecting points of the semantic coordinates of time-mood and transitivity-intransitivity. In this frame all kinds of situations* are realized. Using the descriptive method of M. Machavariani (1980^{1,2}, 1981, mutual discussions, her letters of 18.02 and 18.03.1982, etc.), a situation directed away from the communicant (the 1st and the 2nd persons) is termed *extravert* (ExVS: "I build a house for him"); a situation is *intravert* (IVS) if it is directed towards the communicant ("he builds a house for me"). Intravert situations are *reflexive* (Rx) if the communicant considers himself at the same time the subject and the indirect or direct object of the situation ("I build a house for myself", "I wash myself"). These relations are reflected in the 3rd person ("he builds a house for her" — ExVS, "he builds a house for himself" — Rx; "he washes himself" — Rx)**.

3.2.1. Systemically the existence of sentences of the three kinds of typology manifests in the three verbal tense-mood-series (screeves' series): present ("nominative"), aorist ("ergative") and perfect ("dative"), the dative construction existing also in the 1st series with static verbs. The traditional explication of the typology of sentences in Kartvelian is the following.

In the 1st series of screeves only sentences of the nominative and dative typology are possible. In the former the logical subject (LS) coincides with the grammatical subject (S) and (predicate being transitive or intransitive — Pt, Pit) is in the nominative (NOM-absolutive ABS) case. The accusative is missing because the logical direct (LOd) and indirect (LOi) objects are grammatically expressed (Od, Oi) by the same case which in the ("ergative") 2nd series of screeves (where accusative is impossible in principle) functions as dative (DAT) of the indirect object and which in the dative construction of the same 1st series functions as dative of the logical subject, being signalled by versional markers in the verbal form as dative of the grammatical indirect object.

*Situation implies all kinds of verbal content (action, process, state).

**Because it is unmarked in correlation with the 1st and 2nd persons expressing participation in the communication act. This explains the later origin of the 3rd person morpheme in comparison with those of the 1st and the 2nd persons (M. Machavariani, 1980₂).

As for the sentence of the dative typology, the logical subject conforms there to the grammatical indirect object, the logical direct object conforming to the grammatical subject.

The sentence of the ergative typology is possible only in the 2nd series of screeves where the nominative typology is also possible. The first occurs when the predicate is expressed by the transitive verb. In this ergative construction the logical subject conforms to the grammatical subject in the ergative case, the logical direct object conforming to the grammatical direct object in the absolutive case. The former case is really ergative and the latter is really absolutive because in the corresponding absolutive construction (where the predicate is expressed by the intransitive verb and thus has no direct complement) the logical subject conforms to the grammatical subject in the same absolutive case. Because of the nominative functioning of this case in the 1st series, this absolutive construction is called nominative for the sake of economy.

In the 3rd series of screeves a sentence is of the dative typology if the predicative verb is transitive, and it is of the nominative typology if the verb is intransitive. The use of the two series of personal formants (i. e. the extravert and the intravert series) in the dative construction is reversed to their use in the nominative and ergative constructions in the 2nd as well as in the 1st series of screeves.

For Svan the following examples may be given:

The 1st series of screeves

1. Nominative construction

- a) al märe kor-s a-g-em
 this manNOM (a)house-DAT NVS-builds-THEME
 A S(=LS) Od(=LO) Pt
- b) al märe kor-s i-g-em
 this manNOM (a)house-DAT IVS-builds-THEME(=for himself)
 A S Od PtRx
- c) al märe miča gezał-s kor-s x-o-g-em
 this manNOM (for)hisGEN son-DAT (a)house-DAT him-ExVS-builds-THEME
 A S A Oi Od Pt
- d) al mārēm-i kor i-g(m)-i
 this man's-GEN houseNOM IVS-is built-PASS/THEME
 A A S Pit
- e) al mārēm-i gezał-s kor x-e-g(m)-i
 (for)this man's-GEN son-DAT (a)houseNOM him-ExVS-is built-PASS/THEME
 A A Oi S Pit

2. Dative construction

- al mār-a(s) x-o-g kor 'this man has a house'
 (for)this man-DAT him-"ExVS"-stands houseNOM
 A Oi(=LS) Pit S(=LO)

The 2nd series of screeves

1. Ergative construction

- a) al m̄ara-d kor ad-g-e
 this man-ERG (a)houseABS PV+(NVS)-built-3pers.AOR
 A S(=LS) Od(=LO) Pt
- b) al m̄ara-d kor ād-g-e
 this man-ERG (a)houseABS PV+for himself=IVS-built-3 pers.AOR
 A S Od PtRx
- c) al m̄ara-d miča gezal-s kor ot-g-e
 this man-ERG (for)hisGEN son-DAT (a)house ABS PV+him+ExVS-built-3 pers.
 A S A Oi Od Pt

2. "Nominative" (i. e. absolutive) construction

- a) al m̄arēm-i kor ād-g-ān
 this man's-GEN houseABS PV+IVS-was built-PASS
 A A S Pit
- b) al m̄arēm-i gezal-s kor āt-g-ān
 (for)this man's-GEN son-DAT (a)houseABS PV+him+ExVS-was built-PASS
 A A Oi S Pit

The 3rd series of screeves

1. Dative construction

- al m̄ar-a(s) o-t-g-a kor
 this man-DAT PV+him+"ExVS"-has built-PF (a)houseNOM
 A Oi(=LS) Pt S(=LOd)

2. Nominative construction

- a) al m̄arēm-i kor al-g-el-[(l)i]
 this man's-GEN houseNOM PV+PXpc.pf.(PASS)-has been built-SFdur-[is]
 A A S Pit
- b) al m̄arēm-i gezal-s kor at-g-ēna
 (for)this man's-GEN son-DAT (a)houseNOM PV+him+ExVS-has been built-PASS
 A A Oi S Pit

3.2.2. In Svan there are no signs of the nominativization of the language structure as it takes place in Zan, though the very ergative structure in Kartvelian is not consistent. In this respect it may be called *defectively-ergative* (cf. Aronson). Thus no parallelism exists between the use of the two series of personal formants and the use of the ergative and absolutive-nominative cases even in the 2nd ("ergative") series of screeves. The same extravert series of personal formants agree not only with the ergative subject but also with the absolutive subject. On the other hand, the intravert series of personal formants, which agree with the direct object, do not agree with the absolutive subject. In Svan:

ERG: mi oXW ₁ -iṭx miṣgu gezal "I returned me my son"	} XW ₂ ≠ M
ABS: mi loXW ₂ -eṭx miṣgu dis "I was returned to my mother"	
ABS: eṣnēm aM-ṭix korte "he returned me home"	

The real ergative agreement does take place only in the 3rd series of screeves, cf.:

"ERG": mi M-iṭixa miṣgu gezal "I have returned my son"	} XW ₁ = X(W) ₂ ≠ M
"ABS": mi amṭex-XW ₁ -i miṣgu dite "I have been returned to my mother"	
"ABS": mi X ₂ -oṭixa miṣgu dis "I have returned to my mother"	

Moreover, the case of the indirect object (*di-s*) is the same as the "ergative" in the 3rd series, so the "ergative" appears to have dative functions, as it is so typical of the ergative languages (K l i m o v, 1981).

Yet, the 3rd series cannot be classified as "ergative" and are classified as "dative", because the subject of the transitive verb is in the case which functions as dative of the indirect object (not as ergative!) in the 1st and 2nd series of screeves. It is impossible to determine this case as ergative and not to break the systemic rules of the syntax of the cases. The thing is that even taking into consideration a kind of complementary distribution between the use of this case in the 3rd and in the other series of screeves (there is no dative of the indirect object of the transitive verb in the 3rd series, nor the "ergative" use of the dative in the 1st or 2nd series), it can be determined neither as dative-ergative because of the existence of the "other" ergative case in the 2nd series. The latter case must be determined as ergative because of the typically twofold distribution of the subject cases with transitive and intransitive verbs. As the 1st series of screeves are characterized by the nominative structure, the single conclusion is that the ergative structure is inconsequentially represented in the 2nd series of screeves, the 3rd series being characterized by the dative structure. Such anomalies of ergativity are explained by G. K l i m o v (1980) as relics of the previous "active" (in our terms – fientive) linguistic structure, the main dominant of which was not the morphosyntactical opposition between transitivity and intransitivity but the semantical opposition between "activity" (i. e. fientivity) and "inactivity" (i. e. inertness, stativity). The secondary character of the category of transitivity-intransitivity in Kartvelian, Indo-European and Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic) points out their primeval fientive structure (K l i m o v, 1977).

3.3. The usage of screeves in Svan deviates from Georgian in those instances when Svan has screeves of its own, i. e. future, conditional, narrative – all in the 1st series.

There are 15 screeves in Svan grouped according to the three series: 10 belong to the 1st series (1. present, 2. imperfect, 3. present conjunctive, 4. imperfective future, 5. perfective future, 6. imperfective conditional, 7. perfective conditional, 8. narrative present, 9. narrative imperfect, 10. narrative conjunctive), 2 belong to the 2nd series (11. aorist, 12. aorist conjunctive) and 3 belong to the 3rd series (13. perfect, 14. pluperfect, 15. perfect conjunctive). To these 15 one more screeve may be added, i. e. 0. injunctive, which formally is the semantical species of the present.

0. Injunctive

Present forms, while used with certain concrete words, often have the sense of the preterito-perfect; the same forms without the concrete words have the sense of the future:

xwājīn *āji* lājraļs "for many times he has taken letters" *vs.*

eža *āji* lājraļs "he will take letters".

1. Present

It represents a situation which is taking place at the moment of speaking, or is referred to by narration as if taking place at the moment of speaking, or which takes place constantly or usually:

mi	es-γwr-i	mestja-te	"I go(=I am going) to Mestya"
I NOM	PV-1 pers.-THEME	MestyaDAT-to	
esnār	zagr-uš	metxwjár	an-γr-i,
as if	range-INSTR	hunterNOM	PV-go-THEME

.....

metxwjár	mepsāj-d	te	x-a-rek-i
hunter	Mepsay-ERG	eyeABS	to it-ExVS-struck

"it seems that along the range a hunter is coming, /.../

Mepsay the hunter caught sight of it (smth.)."

laxe	mušwān	žwēdija-s	ču	i-dgār-i,
when	(a)Svan-manNOM	(in-the)remote-DAT/LOC	PV	IVS-dies-"PASS"
kwin-i	lātxa-te	γər-i-x		
(for) soul'-sGEN	returning-for	go-THEME- 3 PL		

2. Imperfect

It represents an imperfective situation which was taking place or has taken place before the moment of speaking, or which took place before it constantly or usually.

lāt,	šomwāj	es-γur-dās	mestja-te...
yesterday	when	PV-1 pers.+go-IF	Mestya-to "yesterday, when I was going to Mestya..."

hančo	ar-da	mestja-s
Hanto	be-IF 3 pers.	Mestya-DAT/LOC "Hanto lived in Mestya"

3. Present conjunctive

It represents a desirable (undesirable) imperfective situation, or expresses necessity in the main clause, or a purpose in a purpose clause, or unreal condition in oaths.

kwinild	atxe	eža	i-γrāl-dēd-s	"sing he now!"
if	now	heNOM	IVS-sing-CNJ-he	
māre	jer	ču	mōm	x-e-rywēn-dēd-s,
man	in order to	PV	not	to it-ExVS-tumble-CNJ-he
	x-o-sgid-dēd-s			way-DAT must

to it-ExVS-look-CNJ-he "in order not to tumble, one must watch the road"

tkic	mōd	mi-xal-dēd-s,	γērbet-ū	me-cwāl
truthNOM	if not	me-know-CNJ-it	GodNOM-PTC.CNJ	me-is wrathful

"if I do not know the truth, God be wrathful with me!"

Present conjunctive may also represent an ordered, aimed or conceded situation if a verb is not used in the 2nd series:

al	māra	xakuč,	ere	kwin-i	liṭxēm-i	loc	x-o-xal-dēd-s
this	manDAT	wants	to	soul-GEN	returning-GEN	prayerNOM	him-"ExVS"-

know-CNJ-he

"this man must know the prayer of soul-returning".

4. Imperfective future

It represents an imperfective situation following the moment of speaking.

amun-γo	al	dwrew-s	γur-un-i	mestja-te
thisDAT-after	this	time-DAT/LOC	I+go-FT-"PASS"	MestyaDAT-to

"henceforth at this time I shall go to Mestya".

5. Perfective future

It represents a perfective situation following the moment of speaking; its use may be contrary to the use of English anterior future or German Futurum II.

isgwa	liqd-ālṭw	mi	mehij-ār-s	xw-i-xwr-un-i,
thyDAT	coming-till	I NOM	ripe-PL-DAT	1 pers.-IVS-pick-FT-THEME

jayo,	i	čāw-s	ušxad	al-ḳwēd-ne-d
so	and	litter-DAT	together	PV+1 pers.-take-FT-PL

"until thou comest (IF.FT) I shall pick ripe fruits, so, and we both shall take (PF.FT) the litter together".

məxār	on+qwd-eni	mestja-te
to-morrow	PV+1 pers.+come-"PASS"	MestyaDAT-to

"to-morrow" I shall come to Mestya".

6. Imperfective conditional

It is used: a) in the subordinate clause of time to express an imperfective situation preceding the moment of speaking; b) to express an imperfective situation which is supposed to have taken place before the moment of speaking; c) to express an unreal imperfective situation which makes a condition for another situation (the latter may be also expressed by the imperfective conditional).

a) al nən-ār nacādw lix manḳwi-neš, ašxw nən-ži
 this language-PL.NOM changed are firstly-from oneDAT language-on
 gar jer i-gərgāl-n-ōl-x māg, eča-neš
 only that IVS-speak-FT-PRT-PL allNOM that-from
 "these languages have been changed since the first time when all (tribes) were speaking one language";

b) al"-ēser sāwj-ār-ənka jār ir-ōl?
 this-say North-Caucasian-PL.DAT-besides whoNOM will be-PRT

"Except North-Caucasians, who (else) would have been these? — he said";

c) mi lax xw-i-yrāl-n-ōl, šwān-ži gar xwiyrālnōl
 I NOM if 1 pers.-IVS-sing-FT-PRT Svania-about only
 "if I sang, I should sing only about Svania!"

7. Perfective conditional

It is used: a) in the subordinate clause of time to express a perfective situation preceding the moment of speaking; b) to express a perfective situation which is supposed to have taken place before the moment of speaking; c) for an unreal perfective situation which is conditioned by some preceding situation, expressed either by imperfect conditional (concerning present) or by perfect conjunctive (or plu-perfect with the modal particle -w) concerning past.

a) lixəlçip ān-bin-ōl, eča-neš xelçip ešxu xeqāđ-x
 monarchyNOM PV+IVS-begin-PRT that-from kingNOM oneNOM had-they

"the monarchy having begun, they had one king since that (time)";

b) amaxunka jār ad-dagr-īs ?
 enemy+besides whoNOM PV-kill-FT+COND.

"except the enemy, who (else) have killed?"

c) mi lax xwiyrālnōl, šwānži gar ot-yrāl-n-ā-s
 PV+1 pers.-sing-FT-PRT-1,2 pers.SG

"if I sang, I should sing (a song completely) only about Svania!"

eča-s al lezweb lāt er ox-mār-ēn-s
 he-DAT this foodNOM yesterday to PV+him+"ExVS"-prepare-CNJ-3 SG
 (= ha-w ox-mār-ān), lādi ala-s lāxw-zweb-nās
 PTC-PTC PV+him+"ExVS"-prepare-PPF to-day this-DAT PV+1 pers.+IVS-eat-SF
 "had he prepared this dish yesterday, to-day I should have eaten it".

8. Narrative present

It refers to a situation which is not attested by the speaker and may be rendered according to the words of the 3rd person.

mezwbēl-te dāw al-māz-li i eča-s mindwer-s x-aqnina
 neighbour-to deveNOM PV+PX.PF-come-is and he-DAT field-DAT him-ploughs
 "to the neighbour a deve (myth.) seems (= is said) to have come (= as if has come) and to plough (= as if ploughs) a field for him".

9. Narrative imperfect

10. Narrative conjunctive

In their usage the screeves 9, 10 correlate with 8 in the same way as 2 and 3 correlate with 1, i. e. the screeves 9, 10 represent the screeves 2, 3 in the narrative (= referring to an unattested situation) use.

11. Aorist

It represents a perfective situation which took place before the moment of speaking.

alj-ār-d	sgā+çs-e-x	kor-te	wārg,	tabāg
he-PL-ERG	PV+NVS+call-AOR-PL	houseDAT-to	noblemanABS	tableABS

ox-w-g-e-x

PV+him-ExVS-stand-AOR-PL

"they called the nobleman into the house, stood him a table".

For the aorist of the static verbs the form of the imperfect is used (often with a preverb):

çgint-s	dīna	la-x-laṭ-ən(da)	"a boy fell in love with a girl".
boy-DAT	girlNOM	PV-him-love-IF	

12. Aorist conjunctive

It represents a perfective situation which is ordered, aimed or conceded:

al	gweš	gwašagan-d	čwemin-a-s!
this	affairABS	Gwashakan-ERG	do-CNJ-3 sg.

"let Gwashakan do this affair!"

mezwbēl	an-qād,	eṣṣa ere	čweminas al gweš
neighbourNOM	PV-came	in order to	

"the neighbour came to do this affair (now)".

jerwāj-d	do čweminas,	mām	serde	li
-ERG		no	care	is

"whoever do, it would be the same".

If a verb has no screeves of the 2nd series, the present conjunctive of the 1st series is used:

al māra xaḩuč, ere kwini liṭxēmi loc xoxaldēds "this man must know the prayer of soul-returning".

13. Perfect

Perfect represents a resulted situation. This situation is usually treated as unattested or is rendered according to the words of the 3rd person (modus relativus):

mezwbēl-s	kor	ot-g-a
neighbour-DAT	houseNOM	PV+him+"ExVS"-build-PF

"the neighbour has built (so it seems, is said to have built) a house".

14. Plu-perfect

It may express a desirable (undesirable) unreal situation (in this instance the form is accompanied by the modal particle -w):

kwinild	kā-w	lox-marṣw-ān	"if only he had helped!"
if	only-PTC	PV+him+"ExVS"-help-PPF	

The plu-perfect sense of the screeve 14 is seen only in the unreal conditional clause and in the instances when it is used for the perfect conjunctive.

Plu-perfect being in the conditional clause, the screeve of the main clause depends on its aspectual characteristic, whether imperfective (the imperfect is used), as in

xexw-s	dār	ǰ-a-hwed-da,	hawe	mi	moma
wife-DAT	nobodyNOM	thee-ExVS-give-IF	PTC.PF.COND.	I DAT	not
lām-marǰw-ān			"nobody gave thee a wife except my		

PV+1 pers.+"IVS"-help-PPF

having helped (if I had not helped) thee", or perfective:

hawe	xočāmd	ot-g-ān-x,	ču	dem
PTC.	well	PV+3 pers.+"ExVS"-build-PPF-they	down	not
ot-reǰw-ēn		"had they built well, it would not have fallen down".		

PV+3 pers.+"ExVS"-fall-CNJ

In the latter instance the

15. Perfect conjunctive

is used in the main clause. In general, the perfect conjunctive is used to express a conditioned or an aimed situation which is unreal or supposed. In the latter instance the modal verb is indispensable. In the same sense the plu-perfect is used with no difference:

tetnəlda-d	māma	mārēs	x-a-ǰgwmin	rusiko-s,
Tetnulda-ERG	not	perhaps	her-ExVS-asked(AOR)	Rusiko-DAT

ado	ečka	eǰa-s	xeǰwes	ka	lox-marǰw-ān = loxmarǰw-ēn-s
otherwise	then	she-DAT	must	PV'	PV+her+"ExVS"-help-PPF/CNJ-3

"Perhaps Tetnulda has not asked Rusiko, otherwise then she had to help (us)".

3.4. The expression of the direct or of the indirect object depends on the valency of the verb. A bivalent verb is grammatically connected either with a direct or with an indirect object. A trivalent verb is grammatically connected with a direct as well as with an indirect object.

3.4.1. Since trivalent transitive verbs lose one degree of their valency in the 3rd series and therefore the expression of the indirect object in them is impossible there, this indirect object, while being no more connected with the verbal form, is used in the postpositional genitive as in Georgian:

al	māra	ot-g-a	kor	miča	gezl-āš-d
this	manDAT	PV+him+ExVS-build-PF	houseNOM	hisGEN	son-GEN-TFM

We consider this postpositional form (differently from Georgian) to be the degenerative transformative*.

Sometimes the pure transformative is used:

*Cf. O. Georgian *mxaṭvr-isa-da* "to a painter" close to such pure degenerative transformatives as *saubr-isa-d* in Sh. Rustaveli's *daṣa čerad anderǰisad, sabralosa saubrisad*. For the nature of the Georgian postposition -da see Palmaitis, 1978.

jās	eser	x-o-qr-a	maxwši-d	twep
whoDAT		him-ExVS-hit-PF	chief-TFM	gunNOM

"who has shot at ('hit the gun to') the chief?"

3.4.2. One degree of valency is lost as a result of reflexivization, the indirect object being annulled (4.3.1.9):

mi	x-o-gem	kors	eža-s		"I build a house for him"
S	Pt.ExVS	Od	Oi		
* mi	x-o-gem	kors	mišgu	txwim-s*	
S	Pt.ExVS	Od	(my)	Oi	
mi	xw-i-gem	kors			"I build a house for myself"
S	Pt.Rx	Od			(= "for my head")

3.4.3. In Svan, as well as in the other Kartvelian languages, the simultaneous use of the same person as subject and as object (as German *ich* – *mich*, *du* – *dich*, etc.) is prohibited in the same form. If the predicate is transitive, the indirect relation 'somebody for himself' may be expressed either by the anaphoric pronoun with the postposition 'for', or by intraversion (reflexive), not by personal formants. As for the direct relation 'somebody-himself', it may be expressed by the word 'head' in the same case of the direct object and by intraversion:

mi	xwigem	kors	= mi	xwagem	kors	mišgwa	txum-eš-d
	IVS			NVS			head-GEN-TFM

"I build a house for myself";

i-dgāri	txum-s	"he kills himself"
---------	--------	--------------------

IVS-kill head-DAT

Therefore in all inclusive forms the 2nd person subject cannot be expressed, e. g. excl.: eža nāj namāre "he prepares us but not you (thee)", excl.: si nāj namāre "thou preparest us but not you", incl.: eža nāj gwamāre "he prepares us and you (thee)", however 'thou – us and you (thee)' is impossible.

3.4.4. To express the logical subject in passive either a dative (resp. genitive, 3.13) form is used with the postposition *-xānka* 'out of' (= Geor. *-gan*), or an instrumental form (which is grammatically anomalous here, cf. 3.12.6.2) (T o p u r i a, 1967):

lāre ičmi laxwbaxānka = laxwboš "a meadow is mown by the brothers".

3.5. The sequence of tenses (i. e. screeves) is taken into account if a situation expressed in the main clause precedes a situation expressed by the conjunctive or the imperative in the subordinate clause:

siko-s	ču	x-o-xal,	miča	mu	er"	an-yr-i
Siko-DAT	PV'	him-"ExVS"-knows	his	fatherNOM	that	PV-come-THEME

"Siko knows that his father comes" –

sikos	ču	x-o-xal-da,	miča	mu	er"anyri
		him-"ExVS"-know-IF			

*Unlike Georgian, such a transformation has no precedent in spoken Upper Svan where only the form of the degenitive transformative is met: *txumešd*. For the DAT *txums/txwims* see 4.2.1.5, 6.

"Siko knew that his father came (Svan: *comes*)" –

siḱo-s	x-a-ḱu,	miča mu er"	an-qe-s
Siko-DAT	him-"ExVS"-wants		PV-comeCNJ-he

"Siko wants his father to come".

Though in the latter instance the preterite transformation in the main clause causes the corresponding transformation of the conjunctive in the subordinate clause:

siḱos	x-e-ḱwād-da,	miča mu er"	ām-qed-ēl	l-ās-w
	him-"ExVS"-wanted-IF		PV+PX.PC-come-SF	he-beCNJ

"Siko wanted his father to come".

3.6.1. Indirect speech does not deviate from the above rule:

siḱo-s	x-ēka,	ere	mi	deš
Siko-DAT	him-ExVS+tell IP	that	I NOM	not in any way
xw-ā-čm-e	i	mič-nēm	ad-čem-a-s	
I-NVS-mow-THEME	and	himself-ERG	PV-mow-CNJ-he	

"Tell Siko that I cannot mow and that he mow for himself"

(aorist in the meaning of the imperative in the main clause and the aorist conjunctive in the subordinate clause).

mi	lwēka,	ere mi deš xwāčme i	mič ^o	ot-čem-ān
I ERG	I said		himselfDAT	PV+him+"ExVS"-mow-PPF

"I said that I could not mow and he should mow for himself"

(the preterite transformation in the main clause and, as a result, the plu-perfect in the subordinate clause).

3.6.2. The use of direct speech is restricted to the only instances when

a) the 1st or the 2nd person orders another person to do something or mentions himself in the 3rd person;

b) the 2nd or the 3rd person renders the words of another person as referring to the renderer. Then the 1st person is used with the particles *eser* or *rok*.

(a) If the speaker mentions himself in the 3rd person, *-ž* and *eser* are to be used together, *-ž* relating to the 1st and *eser* – to the 2nd or to the 3rd person:

mi	xw-ēka	siḱo-s:	baba-sə-ž	x-ēka,
I ERG	I-ExVS+told	Siko-DAT	dad-DAT-PTC	him-ExVS+tell IP
ču-ž	eser	at-čem,	mič-əž	māma x-o-žib
PV+PTC*PTC	PTC	PV-mow	himDAT-PTC	not him-"ExVS"-can

"I told Siko: "Tell thy dad: 'do mow, he cannot'";

(b) If the 2nd or the 3rd person renders the words of another person as referring to the renderer, the particles *eser* or *rok* (the latter mainly for the 3rd person) are to be used:

mu-d	la-x-tix	siḱo-s:	ču-w	rok	ot-čem	mo?
father-ERG	PV-him-returned	Siko-DAT	PV-PTC*	PTC	PV+I-mow	PTC

"The father answered Siko: "(does he say,) 'I should mow?'".

*(*ču* < *ču*)-w to transfer the indicative aorist (imperative in the case of the 2nd person) 2 SG. *atčem*, 1 SG. *otčem* into the conjunctive in accordance with the rule 3.9.

siko-d	eža-s	la-x-tix:	ču	eser.
Siko-ERG	he-DAT	PV-him-returned	PV'	PTC

"Siko answered him: "Thou should" "

As can be seen, direct speech is used in Svan when it is double, i. e. when one quotation is subordinated to another. In all other instances indirect speech is used with the particles *rok*, *eser* or *-ž* (the conjunction *er(e)* "that" may be omitted). The latter always accompanies the 1st person of the speaker. If the speaker refers to himself but is not the 1st person, forms of the 1st person cannot be used. As for the 2nd and the 3rd persons of the speaker, the corresponding personal forms are used with the particles *eser* or (mainly for the 3rd person) *rok*:

mi	xw-ēka	siko-s,	(ere)	məxārə-ž	xw-a-mšije
I ERG	I-ExVS+told	Siko-DAT	(that)	to-morrow-PTC	I-NVS-work

"I told Siko that I should work (Svan: I work) to-morrow".

si	x-ēka	siko-s,	(ere)	məxār	eser
thouERG	thou-ExVS+told	Siko-DAT	(that)	to-morrow	PTC

x-a-mšije

thou-NVS-work

"thou told Siko that thou wouldst work (Svan: workst) to-morrow"

si	m-ēka,	(ere)	məxār	eser	x-a-mšije
thouERG	to me-IVS+said	(that)	to-morrow	PTC	thou-NVS-work

"thou toldst me that thou wouldst work (Svan: workst) to-morrow"

ež-nem	x-ākw	siko-s,	(ere)	məxār	eser rok
he-ERG	him-ExVS+told	Siko-DAT	(that)	to-morrow	PTC PTC

a-mšije

NVS-work

"he told Siko that he would work (Svan: works) to-morrow".

3.7. In dialogues the only preverb is sufficient to be repeated by answering; cf. the above drawn examples:

mud	laxtix	sikos:	ču	rok	otčem	mo?	sikod	ežas	laxtix:	ču	eser!
-----	--------	--------	----	-----	-------	-----	-------	------	---------	----	-------

The same phenomenon is widespread in Georgian dialects. Typologically Lithuanian may be mentioned: *aĩ pa-kalbėjai su kaimynais?* – *pà* 'hast thou talked with the neighbours? – Yea'.

3.8.1. Interrogation is expressed by means of interrogative words and particles. Particles *-a*, *-ma*, *-mo* are placed at the end of a syntagma, the particle *-esa* may be postponed to any word, usually – to a verb. All the particles appear at the intonational peak of syntagmas. If a sentence begins with an interrogative word, particles are unnecessary. The intonational peak is on the interrogative word, e. g.

woša	lə-zāj	xi	"how old art thou?"
how many	of-year	art	

As for the typology of questions, it does not deviate from the Kartvelian type (cf. Georgian) which in its turn is close to the Indo-European model.

3.8.2.1. By negation one must distinguish mood in Kartvelian (similarly to Indo-European, Finno-Ugric, Semitic, etc.). Thus negation in the Svan imperative is

expressed by other particles than in the indicative. A typical Kartvelian feature is special negation for physical inability. Different particles are used for categorical and for polite (of advice) negation:

kor-s	dēsa	xw-i-gem	"I do not build a house"
house-DAT	not	I-for myself-build	
kors	deš	xwigem	"I cannot build a house".
	not in any way		

While it is the aorist to be used for the affirmative imperative, the present is used for the negative imperative in the 2nd person:

num xigem kors "do not build a house (for thyself)!" (categorical),

nōmis xigem kors "do not build a house, I advise thee!" (polite).

The (negative) imperative for the 1st and 2nd persons is expressed by the aorist conjunctive (or the present conjunctive if the 2nd series is missing):

numa ādgas kor "let him not build a house (for himself)!" (AOR.CNJ).

3.8.2.2. The negative particle immediately precedes the verb if the particle -w is not inserted: the latter is always joined at the end of the negative particle:

mišgu	apxneg	ču	numa-w	qed-en	amxāw
my	friendNOM	PV'	not-should	come-IF	here
"my friend should not come here".					

3.9. The indicative form may be used for the conjunctive provided with the particle -w/-u. The place of this particle is free:

mišgu apxneg iḡrāl	"my friend sings"	
mišgu apxneg-u iḡrāl (ID)	}	"let my friend sing!"
mišgu apxneg iḡrāldēds (CNJ)		
iwas-u	x-ā-r-i	"thank you!"
for ever-PTC	thou-NVS-be-THEME.ID	

xoča	ladeḡ-u	ǰ-ā-r	"good day!"
good	day-PTC	thee-NVS-be(ID)	

3.10. Word order in Svan is free, however in the neutral style the predicate tends to be either after the subject and before the objects or after them at the end of a sentence. Shifts in the word order are a means of emphasis. Thus the predicate may appear at the beginning of a sentence, the subject appearing at the end of it.

3.10.1. The place of some particles has been discussed above (3.8, 9). The place of a secondary preverb in an affirmative sentence is free (if not taking into account junctions with nominal postpositions or indivisible syntagmas). Nevertheless, when put at the beginning of a sentence, a secondary preverb may emphasize the sense of the words following it:

mišgu	apxneg	ču	anqād	amxāw	= mišgu apxneg anqād amxāw ču
my	friendNOM	PV'	cameAOR	here	
"my friend came here", but					

ču mišgu apxneg anqād amxāw "it was my friend who came here".

In a negative sentence a secondary preverb cannot be between the verb and the negation (cf. 3.8.2.2):

mišgu apxneg ču māma anqād amxāw "my friend did not come here".

3.11. Sentences are simple and complex. Some kinds of simple sentences are observed above (3.8).

3.11.1. In simple copular sentences the overt copula is represented by the personal forms of the verb "to be":

tetnolda	nišgwěj	apxneg	li
TetnoldaNOM	ourEXC	friendNOM	is
mi	xočāmd	xwāri	
I NOM	well	am(=exist)	

3.11.2. There is no general marker of subordination in Svan. Usually the subordination is expressed by conjunctions or adverbs with the anaphorical suffix -wāj.

3.11.2.1. The single conjunction for the noun-clause is *er(e)* "that":

mi	mi-xal-da,	ere	vāliķo	i-rd-ōl	mestja-s
IDAT	me-know-IF	that	Valiko	IVS-live-COND	Mestya-in

"I knew that Valiko lived in Mestya".

Sometimes *er(e)* may be omitted (see direct and indirect speech 3.6.2).

3.11.2.2. *er(e)* may also be met in the adverbial clauses of purpose, manner and (*ešja ere*) cause. In conditional clauses the conjunction *er* may be met.

3.11.2.3. The usual marker of relative clauses and adverbial clauses of time is the anaphorical suffix -wāj, typologically identical with the Georgian -c, Armenian *inč* or O. Slavic -že, cp. Svan *xed-wāj*, Geor. *romeli-c*, Arm *or inč*, O. Sl. *i-že* "that who" in relative clauses.

3.11.2.4. For the adverbial clauses of condition, see 3.3.6, 7, 15.

3.11.2.5. Purpose is expressed either by the conditional mood in the purpose clause (the indicative form with the particle -w also may be used) or by the name of destination with the postposition -te in the simple clause:

šwan-ār	γər-i-x ,	kwin	er	ān-čəx-a-x	=
Svan-PL	go-"PASS"-they	soulABS	to	PV+IVS-return-CNJ-they	
= šwanār	γərix	kwin-i	lātxa-te		
		soul-GEN	returning-for		

"Svans go to return a soul".

3.12. The use of cases in Svan is the same as in Georgian except the genitive of actor and the instrumental of actor.

3.12.1.1. The dative case expresses the inessive directly without any postposition as in O. Georgian, e. g.

muš-s	liz	lequnzela	gun
Mush-DAT	is	vineyardNOM	very

"there are very many vineyards in (the town of) Mush".

The same is used for the adverbial modifier of time:

hama	žinar-s	ži	am-čed-xwi,	ži amčedxwi	tanay-te-ži
morn	morning-DAT	PV'	PV+PX-go-am		ridge-to-above

"morn at morning I (shall) have ascended, have ascended the ridge".

3.12.1.2. The (archaic?) use of the non-paradigmatic dative in -n is obscure, cf.

amən-γo "after this", *lədgərun-γo* "after the death", *dīnan-ka* "besides a girl", *worun-čə* (*-un* < *-ən*) "under the earth (surface)". Genitives are attested too: *bogreši-n bogani čubaw* "under the Bogresh's bridge". Comparison with the latter instance shows *-n* to be a kind of determinative, not a case marker (nor an allomorph of a case marker) in Svan*.

3.12.1.3. The main function of the dative is to represent the direct and the indirect object in the 1st series of screeves**, to represent the indirect object in the 2nd series and the logical subject in the 3rd series (as well as the logical subject by the static verbs in the 1st series), and to represent the indirect object by the intransitive verb in the 3rd series of screeves.

3.12.2. Although the ergative has no special marker in Svan (the most "popular" is *-d* of the transformative), the use of this case, as well as the use of the nominative-absolutive, is the same as in Georgian. If the verb is transitive, in the 1st series of screeves the subject is in the nominative case, the direct and indirect objects being in the dative case; in the 2nd series the subject is in the ergative, the direct object in the absolutive(-nominative) and the indirect object in the dative case; in the 3rd series and by the static verbs in the 1st series of screeves the logical subject is in the dative while the logical direct object is in the nominative(-absolutive) case. If the verb is intransitive, in all the three series the subject is in the nominative(-absolutive) case and the indirect object — in the dative case. So the latter is the single case for the indirect object.

1st series

zurāl-ār	mäg	täš-s	x-o-qd-e-x
woman-PL.NOM	allNOM	cheese-DAT	him,them-ExVS-bring-THÈME-they
S	A	Od	Pt
bopš-ār-s			
child-PL-DAT			
Oi			
"all women bring cheese to children"			

*This *-n* seems to be the same Borealic ("Nostratic") marker of animateness (fientivity) as in Svan *mī-n(e)* 'their', 'them', O. Georgian nominative-absolutive formant of the animate nouns in the plural (*ḡac-n-i* 'men') (cf. also the verbal affix of the plurality of the direct object), Georgian *-n* in *vi-n(a)* 'who', *ma-n* ERG 'he', *me-(na)* 'I', *še-n(a)* 'thou', *čve-na(a)* 'we', *tkve-n(a)* 'you', Megr. *mu-n* 'they', 'them', *te-na* 'this', *ti-na* 'that', IE. Balt. *ma-ne*, Sl. *me-ne* GEN/ACC 'I', Got. *meina*, i. e. *mī-na* GEN 'I', Turk. *man/mə-n* 'I', *sa-n/sə-n* 'thou', F. U. **mə-na* 'I', **sə-na* 'thou', Semitic Arab.-Aram. *ma-n* 'who', etc. Since everywhere this formant tends to animateness, one should expect its occurring in some language as a marker of the fientive → ergative, and so it is in Geor. *man*. This single instance (cf. O. Geor. NOM/ABS *ḡac-n*, *vi-n* or Svan genitives and datives in *-n*), however, points out more to the occasional specialization than to the Common-Kartvelian status of *-n* as of an allomorph of the ergative case marker. "Kartvelian mimation" seems to be more suitable definition at least for Svan.

**W. Boeder, by developing the idea of G. Deeters, explains the 1st series' dative of the direct object as grammaticalized "locative" → dative (Boeder 1979).

2nd series

zurāl-ār-d	čij-em	tāš	ox-qid-x	bopšārs
woman-PL-ERG	all-ERG	cheeseABS	PV+him,them+ExVS-bring-they	
S	A	Od	Pt	Oi
"all women (have) brought cheese to children"				

3rd series

zurāl-ār-s	čī-s	tāš	on-qīd-a-x	
woman-PL-DAT	all-DAT	cheeseNOM	PV+him+"ExVS"-bring-PF-PL	
LS	A	LOd	Pt	
bopš-r-āš-d				
child-PL-GEN-TFM				
Oi				
"all women (seem to) have brought cheese to children"				

1st series

tāš	x-o-qd-en-i-x	bopš-ār-s
cheeseNOM	him,them-ExVS-bring-PASS-THEME-PL	child-PL-DAT
S	Pit	Oi
"cheese is brought to children"		

2nd series

tāš	ox-qād-x	bopš-ār-s
cheeseABS	PV+him,them+ExVS-bring-PL	child-PL-DAT
S	Pit	Oi
"cheese was brought to children"		

3rd series

tāš	ax-qed-a-x	bopš-ār-s
cheeseNOM	PV+him,them-bring-PF-PL	child-PL-DAT
S	Pit	Oi

3.12.3. As is seen from the example above, the syntactical function is primary with the nominative/absolutive, ergative and dative. These cases are grammatical (Kuryłowicz, 1964), the other cases are concrete.

3.12.4.1. The general function of the genitive in all the Kartvelian languages is adjunctive. This implies the expression of possessivity as a special instance. In all instances the genitive case functions just as the relative adjective and this is the reason why Kartvelian restricts the amount of relative adjectives (instead of saying "wooden house" the Kartvelians say "house of wood", etc.). Determinans usually precedes determinatum in Svan, though the opposite sequence is possible just as in Georgian, e. g. Svan *gezl-ā kor* "son's house" (unmarked) vs. *kor gezl-āš* "house of the son" (marked). The sequence of the genitive adjunct – the determinatum follows the sequence of the adjective adjunct – the determinatum, cf. Svan *maxe kor* (unmarked) vs. *kor maxe* (marked) "a new house". Typologically the same may be seen in other

languages, cf. Lithuanian *sūnauš nāmas* "son's house", *naūjas nāmas* "a new house" (unmarked) vs. *nāmas sūnauš*, *nāmas naūjas* (marked) and the opposite in Latin *domus filii*, *domus nova* (unmarked) vs. *filii domus*, *nova domus* (marked), or Arab. *baytu waladin*, *baytun ġadīdun* with the "Latin" sequence only and Estonian *poja maja*, *uus maja* with the "Lithuanian" sequence only. Unfortunately, such examples as Russian *dom syna* (the Latin type) and *novyj dom* (the Lithuanian type) seem to destroy the expected universal (see also Schmidt, 1974).

3.12.4.2. As elsewhere, the genitive adjunct may be subjective and objective in Svan, e. g.

dī(j)-e malaṭ "love of a mother" = "love for a mother".

3.12.4.3. The genitive case may express an actor:

al	txēre	metxwǰār-i	nagdarw	li
this	wolfNOM	hunter-GEN	killed	is

"this wolf is killed by a hunter".

Such expressions are met only with participles and never with the finite form. The absence of the word "by" differs them from Georgian*.

3.12.4.4. Since the genitive fulfils the function of a relative adjective, the whole genitive form may be declined anew in Kartvelian. The degenitive declension is especially developed in O. Georgian, being less but sufficiently represented in the present-day language. In Svan some traces are evident, especially in the derivation (cf. *koṣāš* "cliff's", and "alpinist" anew declined) or in proper names. In our opinion, it is the degenitive transformative fossilized in the postpositional genitive of destination (cf. above 3.4.1).

3.12.5.1. The transformative case expresses

a) transformation:

māre	čāž-d	ād-sip-da	"a man turned into a horse"
manNOM	horse-TFM	PV+IVS-turn-IF.AOR	

b) destination:

al	štamān	harq-i	šed-d	m-a-ku
this	jugNOM	whisky-GEN	vessel-TFM	me-NVS-want

"I want this jug as a vessel for whisky".

c) circumstance:

otar	mušgwri-d.	ān-ḱid-x
OtarABS	guest-TFM	PV+IVS-receive-they

"they received Otar as a guest".

qān	an-lāgwn-e	usgwa	ašir-d
oxABS	PV-estimate-AOR	sixDAT	hundred-TFM

"he estimated an ox at six hundreds (roubles)".

*This is one of the Svan archaisms paralleled in Indo-European, particularly in Grabar and Baltic – cf. Lithuanian *šis vilkas yra medžiotojo nudėtas* but the later Latvian *šis vilks ir no medītāja nogalināts* with no "of", "by" as Geor. -gan, mier.

lupxw-d al kor ka i-zgr-i
spring-TFM this houseNOM PV' IVS-finish-PASS

"until spring this house will be finished".

3.12.5.2. Adjective in the transformative case is the usual model of the adverb in Svan as well as in Georgian:

al gweš xočām-d an-sq-e
this affairABS good-TFM PV-do-AOR

"he has carried out this affair well".

3.12.6.1. The instrumental case expresses instrumentality (melan-šw xwājri "with ink I write") or circumstance (ašxw ladaγ-šw sgwebin "one day before").

3.12.6.2. The instrumental is also used for an actor in passive (cf. 3.4.4: *lāre ičmi laxwboš* "a meadow is mown by the brothers"). This phenomenon is typologically testified in various languages in participle constructions. In the Slavic verb it comes from passive participles (for the genesis of expressing actor in participle constructions cf. A m b r a z a s). With the finite forms in Svan this phenomenon is strange and seems to be new (cf. the absence of the instrumental of actor with the participle — 3.12.4.3).

3.13. All nominal postpositions are used with the (pure-stem) dative except the postposition -d "for" used with the genitive. The latter fact shows once again that -d is not a postposition but the ending of the transformative case. The genitive is a case with which all postpositions, except -(i)sga "in" (iness.), -ka "out", -ču "under", are used if a noun is proper (e. g. kor-te "to a house" but dāwit-iš-te "to Davit"). The postpositions -(i)sga, -ka, -ču are not used with the proper names.

3.14. Pronouns are declined in independent usage or while being postponed*.

ežj-ār-s la-xwēm-x mašēne pās
he-PL-DAT PV-them+gave-they the biggest paymentABS

"to them they gave the biggest payment"

ežj-ar-e našdabw mačēne li
he-PL-GEN workNOM the bestNOM is

"their work is the best"

*našdabw mārāl-eš ežjar-eš mačēne li
men-GEN they-GEN

"the work of those men is the best"

* mārāl-s ežjār-s laxwēm-x mašēne pās
men-DAT they-DAT gave-they the biggest paymentABS

"to those men they gave the biggest payment".

In other instances, i. e. in the attributive preposition, the stem of the nominative-absolutive is used with the final vocalism usually dropped in the oblique cases:

*All examples on the inverted word-order are artificial here. Such word-order does not occur in everyday speech, in poetry it is testified merely by possessive pronouns, e. g.

dede-s isgwa si gar x-o-r-dā-s
mother-DAT thyDAT thouNOM only her-"ExVS"-be-IF-1,2 SG
"thy mother had thee only".

eḡ mārāl-e naṣdabw mačēne li
 that men-GEN workNOM the bestNOM is
 "those men's work is the best"
 eḡ mārāl-s laxwēm-x mašēne pās
 that men-DAT gave-they the biggest paymentABS
 "to those men they gave the biggest payment".

3.15. Adjectives are fully-declined while being substantivized or (potentially*) postponed:

luwzera(s) laxwēm-x mašēne pās
 diligentDAT gave-they the biggest paymentABS

"to the diligent (man) they gave the biggest payment"

luwzerē-mi naṣdabw mačēne li
 diligent-GEN workNOM the bestNOM is

"the work of a diligent (man) is the best"

* naṣdabw mārē-miš luwzerē-miš mačēne li
 man-GEN diligent-GEN

"the work of a diligent man is the best"

māra(s) luwzera(s) laxwēm-x mašēne pās
 manDAT diligentDAT

"to the diligent man they gave the biggest payment".

By normal (direct) word order the stem of the indirect (dative) case without a case-ending is regular in attributive usage:

luwzera mārē-mi naṣdabw mačēne li
 diligentDAT man-GEN workNOM the bestNOM is

"the work of a diligent man is the best"

luwzera māra(s) laxwēm-x mašēne pās
 diligentDAT manDAT gave-they the biggest paymentABS

"to the diligent man they gave the biggest payment".

In modern speech, however, there is a tendency (due to the Georgian influence?) to use the form of the nominative-absolutive instead of the indirect case stem:

luwzere mārēmi naṣdabw mačēne li
 luwzere māras laxwēm-x mašēne pās

The above is also true of possessive pronouns.

3.16. Adverbs may be declined as in Georgian:

lāt-ā sgwebne ladā "the day before yesterday"
 yesterday-GEN fore-day

məxār-xānka "from to-morrow"

məxār-d "up to-morrow"

məxār-iš "of to-morrow"

məx(ā)r-iš-d "from to-morrow", etc.

3.17. Unlike Georgian, the predicate is always used in the plural if the subject is in the plural, animate or not:

*See the previous foot-note.

al mārāl xoča li-x "these men are good"

-PL

al korāl xoča li-x "these houses are good"

-PL

The nominal part of the predicate is in the singular as well as the attributive adjunct of the plural noun:

luwzere mārāl-e našdabw mačēne li

SG PL

"the work of the diligent men is the best".*

3.18. Plural of politeness does not exist in Svan.

3.19.1. The use of numerals in Svan essentially differs from their use in Georgian, cardinals being able to conform to the grammatical number:

čxara	isgwi	mare	ču	m-i-dgar-a
nineABS	thyABS	manABS.SG	PV'	me-"IVS"-kill-PF

"I have killed nine (of) thy men"

vrs.

čxara	sāwj-ār	ču	m-i-dgar-a-x
nineABS	Cherkez-PL.ABS	PV'	me-"IVS"-kill-PF-they

"I have killed nine Cherkezs".

Cf. in the same stanza:

semi	gic-ār	leziz-d	ot-jih,
three	ram-PL.ABS	way-TFM	PV+him+ExVS-slaughtered
semi	zāqi	letre	laxwēm
three	wine-sackSG.ABS	drinkingABS	him he gave

"he slaughtered for him three rams for the way,
he gave him three wine-sacks of drink".

3.19.2. Cardinals are declined according to the adjective type:

ešxu	māra	x-e-q-ān	ješd	pwir	"one man had ten cows".
one	manDAT	him-"VS"-have-PRT	tenNOM	cowNOM	

3.19.3. The use of ordinals does not differ from the use of adjectives.

*With the inverted word-order the plural of the adjunct is expected (*mārāl-eš luwzerāl-eš), though such constructions have not been met by us.

MORPHOLOGY

4. There are neither class nor gender categories in Svan, however, the category of human-non-human is distinctly represented. Inflection is according to number, case, persons, inclusiveness-exclusiveness (in verbs and possessive pronouns). The latter is an exceptional property of Svan since the supposed relic in O. Georgian (1 PL. *m-* in verbs) is rather problematical.

4.1.1. Personal pronouns are indeclinable in Kartvelian.

In Svan they are:

1 SG. *mi*, 2 SG. *si*, 1 PL. *näj*, 2 PL. *sgäj*.

For the 3rd person demonstratives *eža*, L. B. *eži*, *žej* "that, he", *ala*, L. B. *ali* "this, he" are used.

4.1.2. Svan possessive pronouns are:

1 SG. *mišgu* || *mišgwi*, 1 PL. EXC. *nišgwē(j)*, L. B. *nišg(w)e*,

1 PL. INC. *gušgwē(j)*, L. B. *gušg(w)e*,

2 SG. *isgu* || *isgwi*, 2 PL. *isgwē(j)*, L. B. *isg(w)e*.

Their dative ends in *-(w)a*, the other case-forms are rare and follow the 2nd (ERG) and the 3rd (INST) types of declension (see further).

For the 3rd person the corresponding genitive forms are used:

3 SG. *miča*, 3 PL. *mine(š)* || *ežjäre(š)*.

4.2. In a synchronical description there is no necessity to classify declensional types according to their origin (Palmaitis, 1979). The mixed synchronic-diachronic classification of Th. Sharadzenidze (1955, 1961) is inconvenient as it does not really cover all the types (Th. Sharadzenidze distinguishes five types). The following classification takes into account, if not all, at least the main variations in case building. It is based on the differentiation between pronominal, adjective and substantive declension and on the form of the genitive case in the latter. Eight types are in the singular, the eighth being the only type in the plural. Besides, the first five types are more or less "artronal", i. e. they have an ancient article *am-*, a declined indirect stem of the demonstrative "this" (cf. O. Georgian NOM. *qaci ese* "this man", ERG. *qacman aman*, DAT. *qacsa amas*, GEN. *qacisa amis*, etc.) which is suffixed at least in one case-form. In the first type (and occasionally in the second type's ergative) the non-organic *-n* is incorporated before the "article" suffixed.

There are 6 cases in Svan: nominative/absolutive (NOM./ABS.), dative (DAT.), ergative (ERG.), transformative (TFM.), instrumental (INST.), and genitive (GEN.).

4.2.1.1. The first (1) type of declension is pronominal and is characterized by root suppletion, cf. *ala* "this", *eša* "that", *ša* "oneself", *māj* "what", *jār* "who", *mäg* "all":

NOM/ABS.	ala		
DAT.	(arch.) amən, (innov.) amis alas		
ERG.	amnēmd		
GEN.	(arch.) amnēmiš amša, (innov.) amiš		
INST.	amnoš(w)		
TFM.	amnar(d)		
NOM/ABS.	eša	ša	māj
DAT.	ešas mič	mič	im
ERG.	ešnēm mišnēm	mišnēm(d)	imnēm(d)
GEN.	ečiš miča	miča	imša
INST.	ešnoš(w)	mičoš(w)	imnoš(w)
TFM.	ešnär(d)	—	imnär(d)
NOM/ABS.	jār	mäg	
DAT.	jäs järs	čī(s)	
ERG.	järd	čijem(d)	
GEN.	iša (ješa)	čīmiš	
INST.	išašw	čiwš činoš(w)	
TFM.	išäšd	čid činär(d)	

DAT. *amən* is used only in fossilized and adverbialized expressions; TFM. *činär(d)* means "for all".

The type is especially interesting as it shows *-ša* to be an allomorph of the GEN. *-iš* (cf. *am-ša*, not **āmša* < **amiša*!, *im-ša*, *i-ša*, *miča*=**mič-ša*)*.

The stem *mič-* is suppletive: *Qm-* + *Qš*.

From the interrogative pronouns relative (with the suffixed *-wāj*, e. g. NOM. *jerwāj*, *imwāj*) and indefinite (with *-wāle*, e. g. NOM. *imwāle*) pronouns are formed in which the first component (indirect stem) is indeclinable. Relatives (i. e. their second component) are declined according to the sixth (6) type, as for *jerwāle* "somebody", its declension is mixed: DAT. *jerwāla*, ERG/TFM. *jerwālēm(d)*, INST. *jerwāloš(w)*, GEN. *jerwālēmiš* (cp. further *twetne* 3, though ERG/TFM.!).

4.2.1.2. The second (2) type is adjectival, cf. *xoča* "good". Some cardinal numerals also belong to it: *ara* "eight", *čxara* "nine":

NOM/ABS.	xoča	ara
DAT.	xočām	arām
ERG.	xočēm(d) xočēmnēm(d)	arēm(d)

*Cf. also *bapša* "of priest", *otarša* "of Otars' clan" with *-ša* specialized in the descriptive meaning. This testifies to the primitive Kartvelian bicasualism: 1) the pure-stem form with the *a*-vocalized ultima in binomial conditions (O. Georgian absolutive, or nominative, dative, transformative with the later added *-i*, *-s*, *-d*), 2) the form in *-i* (O. Georgian gen. *-i-s(a)*, inst. *-i-t(-a)* with the meanings intercrossing as in dative and transformative!). Svan *-ša* shows that **-s₁(a)*, and not *-is₁(a)*, has been a postpositional formant with a specially genitive-concretizing meaning.

GEN.	xočēmiš	arēmiš
INST.	xočāmšw	arāmšw
TFM.	xočāmd	arāmd

Some adjectives (see further *twetne*) belong to the mixed 2/3 type.

4.2.1.3. The third (3) type is characteristic of substantives and adjectives with the alternating vocalic stem-ending NOM/ABS. *-e*, *-i*, DAT., ERG/TFM. *-a*, the genitive ending being *-ēmiš*, e. g. *māre* "man", *nagzi* "week", *twetne* "white":

NOM/ABS.	māre	nagzi	twetne
DAT.	māra(s)	nagza(s)	twetnām twetna(s)
ERG/TFM.	mārad	nagzad	twetnad
INST.	māroš mārawš	nagzoš nagzašw	twetnāmš twetnoš
GEN.	mārēmiš	nagzēmiš	twetnēmiš

Adjectives often follow the second (2) type in the dative and instrumental cases, sporadically – in the ergative case as well (cp. *jerwāle* above 4.2.1.1).

Allomorphs of the dative case are a usual mishap in describing the Svan declension. The point is that in the third type *-a* is considered to be the allomorph, while in the fourth type (see further) it is *-w*, sometimes even called an exponent of the dative (S h a r a d z e n i d z e, 1961). Nobody takes into account the regular Kartvelian dative-exponent (the ending) *-s* which often occurs after the stem-ending (e. g. DAT. *māras*). According to the traditional view of the "mixed" character of Svan (A. C h i k o b a v a), only the sixth (6) type of the Svan declension (see further) is really Kartvelian ("Georgian") so that the appearance of *-s* is to be treated as an innovation from the "Georgian" type. Nevertheless no obstacles exist to see here an archaism. Nominative and dative are in fact cases of the simplest derivation in Svan though they differ one from another either by the stem-ending (*māre* – *māra*) or by the stem-vocalism (*žeγ* – *žaγw*), while in the "Georgian" types (6, 7, 8) they differ only by the dative ending *-s* (cf. further *ladeγ* – *ladeys*). Here is the reason for the dropping of *-s* in the fourth and in the fifth types: the bare dative stem is sufficient to be paradigmatically opposed to the nominative as well as to the other cases. *-s* is systemically redundant there so that the whole dative form is well represented by the bare stem. Therefore neither *-w** in the fourth type should be considered a dative allomorph (all the more – any morpheme!).

The other five types are substantive in general although some adjectives and numerals also belong to them.

4.2.1.4. The fourth (4) type has genitive in *-em* || *-miš* (sporadically – in *-ēmiš* in accordance with the third type) and is characterized by the alternating stem-vocalism in the nominative and in the other cases and by *-w* appearing immediately after the root in all the non-nominative cases. The stem alternates *e/a* or *ä/a*, cf. *žey* "dog", *jeru* "two", *qān* "ox":

*In many instances – a result of the historical generalizing of the stem-endings *-w* < **j* and *-w/u* – see Palmitis, 1979.

NOM/ABS.	žej	jeru	qān
DAT.	žajw	jarw	qanw
ERG.	žajwem	jarwem	qanwem
TFM.	žajwd	jarwd	qanwd
INST.	žajwš	jarwš	qanwš
GEN.	žajwem	jarwem	qanwem
	žajw(ē)miš	jarw(ē)miš	qanw(ē)miš

The coincidence of the genitive form with the ergative one (*žajwem*) is typical of the fourth (4) and the fifth (5) types. As for the genitive ending *-miš*, it is accidentally possible almost everywhere, i. e. in the 6th type as well.

4.2.1.5. The fifth (5) type has genitive in *-em* coinciding with ergative and it has all the other case-endings of the previous type although there is no *-w* after the root here, while the alternations are *e/a* (*ā/a*), *wi/u* (= *ū/u*), *i/ə* or the stem has *ə* and does not alternate, cf. *semi* "three", *txwim* "head", *miž* "sum", *məť* "worm":

NOM/ABS.	semi	txwim	miž	məť
DAT.**	sam	txum(s)	məž	məť(s)
ERG/GEN.	samem	txumem	məžem	məťem
TFM.	samd	txumd	məžd	məťd
INST.	samšw	txumšw	məžwš	məťšw

Except for the word *semi*, this type has disappeared in the living speech, the ancient forms having been fossilized in adverbs, only. Nowadays it is entirely substituted for by the sixth (6) type, the fifth type being represented only in folklore and in texts recorded from the deceased generation.

4.2.1.6. The sixth, seventh and eighth types may be jokingly called Svan "indefinite gender" because there are no relics of the "article" **am-* in them, the types being "Georgian" (or "Kartvelian", using the wrong current term – all the types seem to be Kartvelian, not "mixed" with Abkhaz-Adyghe as conjectured from the times of N. Marr).

The sixth (6) type has genitive in *-iš*, or in *-ĩš* while coalesced with the preceding stem-endings *-u* or *-i*, cf. *qān* "ox", *wisgw* "apple", (LB) *ladeč* "day", *nāpu* "piece", *nāti* "kinsman":

NOM/ABS.	qān	wisgw	ladeč	nāpu	nāti
DAT.	qāns, (arch.) qan(a)s	wisgws	ladečs	nāpus	nātis
ERG/TFM.	qānd, (arch.) qan(a)d	wisgwd	ladečd	nāpud	nātid
INST.	qanšw	wisgwš	ladečšw	nāpuwš	nātiwš
GEN.	qāniš	wisgwiš	lādčiš	nāpwĩš	nātiš

*The ending *-i* is apparently restored due to the Georgian influence (Geor. *sami*) since Georgian numerals are widely used by the Svans – cf. the hybrid *jōri* "two" (Geor. *ori*) side by side with the Svan *jeru* (the length, absent in *jeru*, shows *jōri* to be purely a Svan invention in accordance with Geor. *ori*).

**The *a*-vocalized stem-ending of the pure-stem dative (sometimes with the subsequent *-s*) is met in folklore texts: *txuma(s)*, *məža*, etc.

As can be seen, the umlaut from the nominative is generalized in the other cases in present-day speech (DAT. *qāns*, *wisgwš*, not *qans*, *usgwš*). The frequent absence of *ä*-umlaut in the instrumental (*qanšw*, though *wisgwš*, not *usgwš*!) is not an archaism but the result of the non-palatal umlaut (2.1.2.2) *ä* → *a* as *e* → *ä*.

It is not surprising, due to the "Georgian" character of this type, that most of the loan words get in it. This type also includes a lot of derivatives which tend to spread because of the Svan-Georgian bilingualism.

4.2.1.7. The seventh (7) type is that of the *a*-stems with the historically short **a*, mainly reduced to zero, or long **ā* shortened. The type has genitive in *-āš* or in *-āš*, both being a result of the coalescence of *-iš* with the preceding stem-ending, short or long, cf. *kor* "house", *šihra* "oak":

NOM/ABS.	kor	šihra
DAT.	kors, (arch.) koras	šihras
ERG/TFM.	kord, (arch.) korad	šihrad
INST.	koršw	šihrawš
GEN.	korāš	šihrāš

4.2.1.8. The eighth type has genitive in *-eš* or in *-ēš* similarly to *-āš*, *-āš* of the 7th type and includes *o*-stems (due to umlaut in the genitive), historical *e*-stems (with the narrowed genitive ending *-āš* > *-eš*) and *ē*-stems, cf. *lisdiāl* "dining", *litre* "drinking", woman name *Salo*:

NOM/ABS.	lisdiāl	litre	Salo
DAT.	lisdiāls	litres	Salos
ERG/TFM.	lisdiāld	litred	Salod
INST.	lisdiālšw	litrewš	Salošw
GEN.	lisdiāleš	litreš	Salwēš

4.2.1.9. Some irregular patterns are to be mentioned.

Formally the words *di* "mother", *ši* "hand" belong to the 7th or to the 8th type, nevertheless the ending *-em* is possible in the ergative, as it takes place in the 5th type:

NOM/ABS.	di	ši
DAT.	dis	šis, (arch.) šən
ERG.	did dijem	šid šijem
TFM.	did	šid, (arch.) šəd
INST.	diwš	šiwš, (arch.) šənšw
GEN.	dijāš dije- (in compounds)	šijāš šije- šimi-

The archaic DAT. *šən*, ERG. *šəd*, INST. *šənšw* point especially to the 5th type with the stem alternation *i/ə*.

zāj "year" is formally of the 4th type but its genitive is either of the 6th or of the 7th types:

NOM/ABS.	zāj
DAT.	(arch.) zaw, (innov.) zājs

ERG.	(arch.)	zawem, (innov.) zāja
TFM.	(arch.)	zawd, (innov.) zājd
INST.	(arch.)	zawš, (innov.) zājwš zājšw
GEN.		zawjāš, L. B. zawāš (innov.) zājiš zājaš

gwi "heart", *twi* "honey", *cxwi* "arrow" belong to the 5th type though with many variants:

NOM/ABS.	<i>gwi</i>
DAT.	L. B. <i>gu(s)</i> , U. B. (innov.) <i>gwis</i>
ERG.	<i>guwem</i> (innov.) <i>gwid</i>
TFM.	L. B. <i>gud</i> , U. B. (innov.) <i>gwid</i>
INST.	<i>guwš</i> , (innov.) <i>gwiwš</i>
GEN.	L. B. <i>guwem</i> , U. B. <i>gwīmiš</i>

Ancient forms have been conserved with verbs and in adverbial usage.

The words *γērbet* "God", *pusd* "lord" show the stem suppletion:

NOM/ABS.	<i>γērbet</i>	<i>pusd</i>
DAT.	<i>γērbatw</i>	<i>pusds</i>
TFM.	<i>γērbatwd</i>	<i>pusdd</i>
INST.	<i>γērbatšw</i>	<i>pusťš</i> (phonetically)
ERG.	<i>γertem</i>	<i>pusdd</i>
GEN.	<i>γertāš</i>	<i>pusnāš</i> (for <i>pusn-</i> cf. also 4.2.2.2)

4.2.1.10. In the present-day speech only the types 6, 7, 8 are productive and tend to substitute for other types. Nevertheless some innovations of this kind are still being perceived as errors, e. g. the introduction of the genitive ending *-ēš* into the 3rd type: *mārēš* instead of *mārēmiš*. In this instance, however, the reason may be the strong position of the morpheme *-(ē)miš* which in its turn tends to penetrate into other types as inherently Svan.

4.2.2.1. In the plural the only 8th type is possible:

NOM/ABS.	<i>ežjār</i>	<i>xočāl</i>	<i>mārāl</i>	<i>žejār</i>	<i>txumār</i>
DAT.	<i>ežjārs mins</i>	<i>xočāls</i>	<i>mārāls</i>	<i>žejārs</i>	<i>txumārs</i>
ERG/TFM.	<i>ežjārd mind</i>	<i>xočāld</i>	<i>mārāld</i>	<i>žejārd</i>	<i>txumārd</i>
INST.	<i>ežjaršw minoš</i>	<i>xočālšw</i>	<i>mārālšw</i>	<i>žejaršw</i>	<i>txumaršw</i>
GEN.	<i>ežjareš mineš</i>	<i>xočāleš</i>	<i>mārāleš</i>	<i>žejreš</i>	<i>txumreš</i>

NOM/ABS.	<i>qanār</i>	<i>nāpuwār</i>	<i>nātijār</i>	<i>korāl</i>	<i>žihrāl</i>
DAT.	<i>qanārs</i>	<i>nāpuwārs</i>	<i>nātijārs</i>	<i>korāls</i>	<i>žihrāls</i>
ERG/TFM.	<i>qanārd</i>	<i>nāpuwārd</i>	<i>nātijārd</i>	<i>korāld</i>	<i>žihrāld</i>
INST.	<i>qanaršw</i>	<i>nāpuwaršw</i>	<i>nātijaršw</i>	<i>korālšw</i>	<i>žihrālšw</i>
GEN.	<i>qanreš</i>	<i>nāpuwareš</i>	<i>nātijareš</i>	<i>korleš</i>	<i>žihrāleš</i>

The stem (but not necessarily in modern speech!) is notumlautized in the plural: *qān* — *qanār* (though *qānār* may be used as well!), *pwir* — *purāl*, *bepšw* — *bopšār*, *wisgw* — *usgār*, etc.

The plural morpheme *-är* (<*-äre* of the folklore*) changes to *-äl* in accordance with the rule 2.3.3 in U. Bal, in L. Bal, however, *-är* is generalized, e. g. *purär* "cows", except historical *-ä*-stems having plural in *-ol*: *marol* "men". U. B. *-äl*, L. B. *-ol* seems to be a usual ending in the plural of the 3rd type, or of the 7th one in *-a*, cf. *naxe* "sharp instrument" – PL. *naxäl*, L. B. *naxol*, *abga* "shoulder-bag" – *abgäl*.

4.2.2.2. Besides, there are peculiar plural patterns in Svan.

The suffix *-ir* is used only in PL. *gezür* of *gezal* "son".

The pattern *la—-a* (with the usual stem-reduction) is typical of kinship words, e. g. SG. *udil* "sister for her sister" – PL. *lawdila*, *žemil* "brother for his sister" – *lažmila*, *mu* "father" – *lamuwa*.

In one-syllable kinship words the suffix *-larw* is used, cf. the same word *mu* – PL. *mularw*, or *dä* "mother" – PL. *dilarw*.

One-syllable words with the stem-endings *-a*, *-e* form plural with the suffix *-räl*: *cxa* "nail" – PL. *cxäräl*, *te* "eye" – *tēräl* (the ancient length restored).

Descriptive nouns of peculiarities use the plural suffix *-w*, the sign *-j* of these nouns being dropped: *zoblāj* "eater" – *zoblaw*, L. B. *čadä* "cup-bearer" – *čadaw*.

Some nouns form plural with the suffix *-ädu*: *pusd* "lord" – *pusnijädu*, *meher* "remote" – *mehrijädu*.

Verbal substantives with the prefix *me-* of the agentive meaning form plural with the suffixes *-a* or *-äla*, cf. *mesgwre* "sitting", "servant" from the verb *lisgwre* "to sit" – PL. *mesgwäla*, *mesed* "remainder" (*lised* "to remain") – *mesda* || *mesdäla*, *meyweč* "pursuer" (*lijweč*) – *meywča*, *meyräl* "singer" (*lijräl*) – *meyräla*. It is the suffix *-ol(u)* of these and of the resultative verbal substantives in L. Bal: *mewže* "sleeping" – *mewžolu*, *metwpe* "lost" – *metwpol(u)*.

4.2.3. In the plural the prefix *mə-* is dropped, thus in ethnonyms: *mušwän* "Svan-man" – *šwanär* "Svans", *murwis* "Russian" – *rusäl*.

4.2.4. In all the types of declension in U. Bal GEN. *-š* is dropped in the adjunctive usage if determinandum precedes determinatum immediately, cf. *zagr-i-š i zagr-i nēsga* "between a ridge and a ridge", *šwänjä mēröl* vs. *mēröl šwänjäš* "the sky of Svania". This *-š* is always preserved in L. Bal: *šwaneš merol*.

In the 4th and the 5th types of declension without GEN. *-š* the form of the genitive adjunct ends either in *-e* with the following *-m* dropped (e. g. *txume*)**, or coincides with the corresponding form of the 6th type (e. g. *žeyt*). This maintains new genitives of the 8th (*txumeš*) and the 6th (*žeyš*) types. In L. Bal the genitive adjunct in *-em* (*txumem*) is usual.

-s of the dative is always dropped before postpositions.

4.2.5.1. Synchronically *-s*, \emptyset are allomorphs of the dative morpheme, and *-i*, *-č*, *-š*, *-šš*, *-äš*, *-ša*, *-em*, *-(ē)mi*, *-(ē)miš* are allomorphs of the genitive morpheme.

*E. g. *qanäre* "oxen". The morpheme is connected with the collectivity suffix *-ra*: **era-j* > **aräj* > **arej* > *-är(e)* (Kaldani, 1974).

**Sometimes bare-stem patterns are also met.

4.2.5.2. Allomorphs of the instrumental morpheme are *-wš*, after vowels except *a*, *-oš*, coalesced with the preceding stem-ending *-a*, and *-šw* after consonants.

4.2.5.3. Allomorphs of the ergative morpheme are *-d*, *-em*, *-ēm*, *-ēmd*. *-d* is also the morpheme of the transformative case thus coinciding with the ergative in the types 6, 7, 8.

4.2.6. There are four degrees of comparison in Svan adjectives and adverbs: positive, approximative, comparative and superlative. The approximative degree is formed with the affixes *mə*, *mə* — *a* in comparing colours, e. g. *muttwān* (2.3.2) "whitish", *məçrana* "reddish" (*çərni* "red"), and with the suffix *-āra* in the other instances, e. g. *qəltxāra* "rather high" (*qəltxi* "high"). The comparative degree is formed with the affixes *xo* — *a*, e. g. *xomxa* "newer" (*maxe* "new"), and the superlative degree — with the affixes *ma* — (*ēn*)*e*, e. g. *mamxēne* "the newest". In 4 adjectives the suppletive comparative degree *xočə* "good", *xola* "bad", *xoša* "big", *xoxwra* "small" is used as a positive one for the synonymous positive (correspondingly) *ezār*, *leg*, *zyəd*, *kočəl* (these stems are not degreed). To form the comparative degree of these adjectives, the suffix *-əl* is used: *xočəl* "better", *xodrəl* "worse", *xošel* "bigger" *xoxwəl* "smaller".

4.3.1. The verbal categories in Svan are: transitivity-intransitivity, dynamicity-stativity, causativity, iterativity, exclusiveness-inclusiveness, person, number, valency, version and reflexivity (voice), aspect, screeve (tense and mood).

The usual classification of the Kartvelian verbs is morphosyntactical. The Svan verb shows no deviations from the common Kartvelian model. From the syntactical point of view the verbs are transitive and intransitive. If a verb has no object, it is called absolute. A verb with a direct or indirect object is called relative. Transitive verbs are relative active ("to grow up smb.", "to grow up smb. for oneself, for smb."). Intransitive verbs may be absolute passive ("to be grown up"), relative passive ("to be grown up for smb."), absolute medial dynamic ("to grow up", "to go"), relative medial dynamic ("to grow up for smb.", "to call for smb."), absolute medial static ("to be", "to be growing up"), relative medial static ("to be for smb." = "to have", "to be growing up for smb."). From the morphological point of view the verbs are divided into three conjugational groups, the second being characterized by the stem ablaut and, as well as the third group, — by the infixation of the 1st and the 2nd personal formants into the stem. The lack of the "aorist" series of screeves is characteristic of the third group.

4.3.1.1. The category of transitivity-intransitivity is morphologically expressed by the stem ablaut in the verbs of the second conjugational group. On the morphosyntactical level it is expressed by the absolutive-ergative and dative-absolutive change of the subject and direct-object cases accordingly in the "nominative" and in the "aorist" series of screeves.

4.3.1.2. The category of dynamicity-stativity has no morphological means of expression of its own.

4.3.1.3. The category of causativity is morphologically expressed by means of the suffixes *-un*, *-(w)n-* (with the non-palatal umlaut — 2.1.2.2. — of the preceding stem-

vocalism), *-ən-e*, *-in-e*, *-en-x** (*,-e*). The versional marker *a-* before the root is usual
ā-ḡx-i "he burns (it)" → *x-a-ḡx-un-e* "him he causes to burn (it)"
i-gz-ijēl "it stretches itself" → *a-gz-ən-e* "he stretches (it)"
çkūl-i "it yelps" → L. B. *a-çkūl-in-e* "he causes it to yelp"
x-a-žār "he is yearning" → *x-a-žr-en-i* "him he causes to yearn"
sgur "he sits" → *a-sgwr-e* "he seats (him)"

(in the latter instance *-e* is a thematic suffix but not the special marker of causativity; here the combination of the associative means is used to express causativity).

4.3.1.4. The category of iterativity is expressed by suffixes *-āl(i)*, *-(i)jēl(i)*, *-ārāl(i)*, *-āre* which may be collated with the corresponding nominal suffixes of plurality. Iterative verbal forms in their turn very often express the plurality of objects, cf. *amāre* "he prepares(it)" → *amārāli* "he much, often prepares(it)", "he prepares many of (it)".

4.3.1.5. The category of exclusiveness-inclusiveness is still alive in Svan while in O. Georgian it is represented only as a relic. While in the system of possessive pronouns it may be an innovation in Svan, in the verb it seems to have come from the parent language (K l i m o v, 1977).

4.3.1.6. The category of person expresses the source and the goal of the communicated situation: the communicating person is opposed to other persons in respect of their extra- and intraorientation. Morphosyntactically it is expressed by personal formants which differentiate communicating (the 1st, the 2nd) and non-communicating (the 3rd) persons (M a c h e v a r i a n i M., 1980).

Each personal formant is burdened with either the extravert orientation from the corresponding person (the source of the situation), or the intravert orientation to it (the goal of the situation). Unlike Indo-European, there are not only the extravert but also the intravert series of personal formants in Kartvelian, owing to which the expression of the subject and object persons becomes possible in the same verbal form ("he-beats-me").

The usual position of the personal formant in a form is after the possible preverb and before the possible versional formant preceding the root, i. e. the second position. In Svan in the verbs of the second and the third conjugational groups the formants of the 1st and the 2nd persons are infixed into the root before its vowel if there is no versional formant in the form (otherwise the position is normal).

The extravert series of the personal formants in Svan is :

1. (sg.), I. (pl.) excl. *xw-*; I. incl. *l-*

2. *x-*

3. *-l-*

The singular formant *l-* exists only in five verbs: *li* "is" (auxiliary), *lāsw* "was" (auxiliary), *lāg* "stands", *la-lēm* "he ate" AOR, U. Bal *lā-jūš*, L. Bal *la-jūš*, but Lashkh *la-lāš* "he drank" AOR, *la-* being a preverb and *-l-* (> *-j-*?) being a personal formant. In the 1st series in Upper Svan this *l-* remains in all the screeves in the 3rd person.

*n – causatives demonstrate an ordinary Kartvelian – "Baltic Indo-European" isogloss.

We are inclined to connect this formant with the pronominal root *l* – cf. Svan *ala* "this" (cf. Schuchardt, 1895).

It may be mentioned that the auxiliary verb "to be", 3 sg. *li*, 1 sg. *xwi*, 2 sg. *xi*, being a manifestation of personal formants and the thematic stem-ending *-i* (plus number formants in the plural), seems to have no root in Svan. If so, this once again points out the pronominal origin of *l-* in the 3rd person: in many languages deixis is a usual juncture between the subject and the nominal predicate (cf. Arab. *huwa* "he" = "is", *hiya* "she" = "is").

Nevertheless the sporadic mysterious ending *-z* in the singular *xwiz*, *xiz* (Gagua, 1976), *liz* cannot be ignored and not collated with the no less mysterious *-s* in the imperfect and present conjunctive *läsw*, *lesw*. Is there a root **es(?)**?*

The intravert series of the personal formants is:

1. *m-*, I excl. *n-*, I incl. *gw-*;

2. *ž-* (Lakhmul, Etser *j-* before a consonant).

The 3rd person has no intravert orientation because it always belongs to the extravert series. It is especially clear in Georgian where the versionally-neutral forms do not demand the versional formant *-a-* (as it is usual in Svan), cf. paradigm of the verb "to kill" (Svan is in brackets):

v-klav(xw-a-dgäri) "I kill John"

m-klav-s(m-a-dgäri) "Jack kills me"

h-klav(x-a-dgäri) "Thou killst John"

g-klav-s(ž-a-dgäri) "Jack kills thee"

klav-s(Ø-a-dgäri) "Jack kills John"

← "Jack kills John"

The intravert series of personal formants is defective in Kartvelian***. It is quite natural, since the intravert semantics means the orientation to the person which is the centre of the situation. As for the third person, it is always the centre of the extravert situation, otherwise the reflexive transformation is to be applied (see Version 4.3.1.9.2.).

The personal formant of the 3rd indirect(-object) person is *x-*.

4.3.1.7. As for number, the plural is marked by the ending *-d* in the 1st and 2nd persons of the extravert series and by the ending *-x* in the 3rd person (since the latter is extravert it must be said that the plural is marked in the extravert series only, the same is to say that the marker of the plural always points to the extravert person):

xw-a-dgäri-d "we without you(thee) kill him, them"

l-a-dgäri-d "we and you(thou) kill him, them"

x-a-dgäri-d "you kill him, them"

**H₁ēs(- + d?)/*H₁sēd-* (cf. Geor. pl. *sxed-i* "they sit"): Skr. *āste*, Gk. *hēmai*, *káthētai*.

**V. Topuria (Gagua, 1976) conjectures *-z* in *liz* to be a second root *zi*, L. B. *zə* "is being put", "is lying". This conjecture does not explain all the forms (*liz* and *xwišd*, *läsw*) together, though *zi* may be independent word (not added to *li*) but of the same root! All these Kartvelian facts may be collated on the one hand with IE. **(H₁e)s-* "to be" or Semitic Akkadian *išū* "to be", Aram. *itay*, Hebr. *yēš* "is", Arab. *la-ysa* "is not" and on the other hand – with IE.

***It is surprising that M. Machavariani did not draw this conclusion in 1980₂. She writes only about the neutralization of the orientation in the third person (p. 56).

m-a-dgāri-d "you kill me"
 m-a-dgāri-x "they kill me"
 n-a-dgāri-d "you kill us"
 n-a-dgāri-x "they kill us but not you(thee)"
 [*gw-a-dgāri-d* "you kill us and you(thee)"]
 [is semantically prohibited! see 3.4.3]
 gw-a-dgāri-x "they kill us and you(thee)"
 3-a-dgāri-d "we kill you", "he kills you"
 [*"you(thou) kill(st) you, thee" is prohibited!]
 3-a-dgāri-x "they kill you, thee"

As can be seen, the number
 formants supplement the
 personal formants and specify
 the subject!

4.3.1.8. The category of valency morphologically manifests in the bipersonal marking of the finite forms in Kartvelian. The verbal valency is the ability of the verb to join a number of actants in a certain case-form meanwhile the verbal personality characterizes a verbal form in respect to the appearance in the latter of the exponents of those actants. Since in one form maximally two persons are able to be reflected in Kartvelian, the Kartvelian verb may be maximally bipersonal (not tripersonal!), though it may be trivalent (G a m k r e l i d z e, 1979).

In Svan, as well as in Georgian, if a verb is trivalent, one degree of its valency may be occupied by a versionizer (see 4.3.1.9.1) connecting the verb with an indirect person, another degree being occupied by a personal formant connected with the subject person, and the third degree being connected with the direct-object person. Very often the latter degree is free (and the direct object is said to be "lost"). Verbs of this kind are transitive. The transitive bivalent verbs are bipersonal because one degree of their valency is occupied by a personal formant connected with the subject person and the other degree may be occupied by a personal formant connected with the direct-object person if the subject is in the 3rd plural (in Georgian it may be also in the 3rd singular). The intransitive bivalent verbs are bipersonal because one degree of their valency is occupied by a personal formant connected with the subject person and the other is occupied by versionizer connecting the verb with an indirect person. Monovalent verbs are monopersonal, the single degree of their valency being occupied by personal formant connected with the subject person. Such verbs are intransitive.

4.3.1.9.1. Version is the crucial morphosyntactical category in Kartvelian as well as in Indo-European and in many other languages. It is a basic category to understand the nature of reflexivity and voice. The following explications are based on the newest theory of M. M a c h a v a r i a n i (1980^{1,2}, 1981) which has made us refuse the traditional concepts of A. S h a n i d z e. The grammatical doctrine of A. S h a n i d z e is based on the opposition of subject to object. For M. M a c h a v a r i a n i the concept of the communicant (the 1st and the 2nd persons) opposed to the non-communicant (the 3rd person) is the base. Therefore the reader will not find here the accustomed Shanidze terms, e. g. such as "the objective version", "the subjective version" — they have given their place to the entirely new terms "extraversion", "intraversion", "extravertizer", "extraversionizing", etc.

The category of version is to be defined according to its differential semantical

and morphosyntactical functions as follows: it changes the verbal valency by orientating the communicated situation towards or away from the communicant.

Since the communicant morphologically manifests in the communicating persons, such orientation is achieved by the interaction with the category of person which in its turn is connected with an extravert or intravert orientation. The personal formants orientate situations either extravertially away from the person, or intravertially towards it (4.3.1.6) as it is determined by the grammatical (morphosyntactical) semantics of these formants. The extravert and the intravert series of the personal formants correspond to the existence of the two versionizers, the extravertizer and the intravertizer, by means of which the versional orientation is realized.

The communicated situation, while orientated towards the communicant, is *i n t r a v e r t*. It is *e x t r a v e r t* while orientated away from the communicant.

If the versional orientation away from or towards the communicant coincides with the personal orientation away from or towards the actants, the valency of the verb increases by one degree. If the versional orientation is opposed to the personal one, the verb loses one degree of its valency.

This interaction of version and person is morphologically expressed by the use of versionizers.

There are four versionizers in Svan:

the extravertizer *-o-* (Geor. *-u-*) always orientates a situation away from the communicant;

the intravertizer *-i-* (Geor. *-i-*) always orientates a situation towards the communicant; the versionizers *-a-* and *-e-* (Geor. *-a-*, *-e-*) are neutral and may be burdened with the extravert (*a* in transitive, *e* in intransitive verbs) as well as with the intravert functions. If we do not speak about scarce anomalies, *-e-* is the versionizer in the intransitive verbs, only. Sometimes the versionizer *-a-* is deprived of (versional) meaning ("neutral version" – NVS), sometimes it is used extravertially in order to increase the verbal valency up to the causative degree.

The place of a versionizer in a form is before the root (the third position).

In changing the verbal valency the version either creates objects, or eliminates them. It happens in the following way:

a) the versionizers *i-*, *o-*, *e-* create only indirect objects:

x-ə-gem	si	kor-s	"thou buildst a house" →
-GLIDE-	S	Od	
m-i-gem	si	mi kor-s	"thou buildst a house for me"
-IVS-	S	Oi Od	
xu-gem	mi	kor-s	"I build a house" →
	S	Od	
x-o-gem	mi	eža-s kor-s	"I build a house for him"
-ExVS-	S	Oi Od	
xw-i-mč-i		mi	"I am aged" →
-IVS-	-PASS	S	

xw-e-mč-i mi e³a-s "I am aged for him"
-ExVS- -PASS S Oi

b) the versionizer α - creates indirect as well as direct objects:

sgur	eža	"he sits" →	x-a-sgur	eža	eža-s	"he sits on him"
	S		-ExVS-	S	Oi	
sgur	eža	"he sits" →	a-sgwr-e	eža	eža-s	"he seats him"
	S		-ExVS-	S	Od	

c) the versionizer *i*- eliminates direct and indirect objects:

xw-a-mār-e	mi	eǰa-s	"I prepare it" →	xw-i-mār-i	mi	"I am prepared"
-NVS-	S	Od		-IVS- PASS	S	
x-o-mār-e	mi	eǰa-s	eǰa-s	"I prepare it for him" →		
-ExVS-	S	Od	Oi			
xw-i-mār-e	mi	eǰa-s	"I prepare it for myself"			
-IVS-	S	Od				

d) the versionizer *e*- eliminates direct objects only:

x-o-mār-e	mi	eṣa-s	eṣa-s	"I prepare it for him" →
-ExVS-	S	Od	Oi	
xw-e-mār-i	mi	eṣa-s		"I am prepared for him"
-ExVS-	S	Oi		

In creating indirect but eliminating direct objects, e - is neither extra- nor intravertizer!

Thus it is the only α - which creates direct objects. Therefore it is used for causativity.

What is the state of the 3rd person by the interaction with the versional orientation?

While being excluded from the communicative act, the 3rd person follows the communicant, i. e. it conforms to the paradigm of the 1st and the 2nd persons.

Let us take the verb without versional orientation:

mi	xw-a-prisd-e	eža-s	"I baptize him"	
si,	eža	m-a-prisd-e	mi	"thou baptizest, he baptizes me"
mi,	eža	ž-a-prisd-e	si	"I baptize, he baptizes thee"

eʒa a-prisd-e eʒa-s "he baptizes him"

Now let us intraversionize and extraversionize the verb. If the communicant persons are intravert (the formants 1. *m*-, 2. *ǰ*-), only the intraversionizer *-i*-, but not the extraversionizer *-o*-, is used by them. In this way the intravert personal orientation coincides with the intravert versional orientation and the verbal valency increases to connect the indirect object with the verb:

si,	eža	m-i-prisd-e	eža-s	mi	"thou baptizest, he baptizes him for me"
mi,	eža	ži-prisd-e	eža-s	si	"I baptize, he baptizes him for thee"

Here the 3rd person cannot follow the paradigm of the communicant persons.

because, as we have seen above (4.3.1.6), there is no intravert personal orientation in the 3rd person, the 3rd person always being extravert. Therefore in the 3rd person the versional orientation as well is merely extravert (i. e. the orientation from one non-communicant to another non-communicant is realized extravertially but not intravertially), so that the 3rd person follows the paradigm of the extravert communicant persons.

If the communicant persons are extravert, the extravertizer -o- with transitive verbs and the versionizer -e- with intransitive verbs are used in normal (direct) orientation, the intravertizer -i- being used in reversed (reflexive) orientation.

In the first instance the extravert personal orientation coincides with the extravert versional orientation, and the verbal valency increases to connect the indirect object with the verb:

mi	x(w)-o-prisd-e	eža-s	eža-s	"I baptize him for him"
si	x-o-prisd-e	eža-s	eža-s	"thou baptizest him for him"
→				
eža	x-o-prisd-e	eža-s	eža-s	"he baptizes him for him"
or				
mi	xw-e-prisd-i	eža-s		"I am baptized for him"
si, eža	m-e-prisd-i	mi		"thou art, he is baptized for me"
mi, eža	ž-e-prisd-i	si		"I am, he is baptized for thee"
→				
eža	x-e-prisd-i	eža-s		"he is baptized for him"

4.3.1.9.2. Reflexivization means that the communicant considers "himself" an indirect- or direct-object person – the situation, which has originated from the communicant, returns back to the same communicant (cf. B o e d e r, 1968). In this way either indirect or direct objects are eliminated. For this purpose only -i- may be used: the communication originates only from the extravert person and therefore the opposite versional orientation is necessary to reduce the verbal valency and to eliminate objects. The opposite versionizer for the extravert person is the intravertizer -i-:

mi	xw-i-prisd-e	eža-s	"I baptize him for myself"
si	x-i-prisd-e	eža-s	"thou baptizest him for thyself"
→			
eža	i-prisd-e	eža-s	"he baptizes him for himself"
mi	xw-i-prisd-i		"I baptize myself"
si	x-i-prisd-i		"thou baptizest thyself"
→			
eža	i-prisd-i		"he baptizes himself"

In the first instance of the reflexivization the indirect object is eliminated (it is identified with the communicant → the 3rd extravert person), in the second instance it is the direct object (identified with the communicant → the 3rd extravert person, as well).

The expected reflexivization of the intravert (1. *m-*, 2. *ǰ-*) person, using the extravertizer *-o-*, is ruled out (i. e. **mo-*, **ǰo-*, Geor. **mu-*, **gu-*, are prohibited), because the intravert series of persons are marked in respect to the absent 3rd person. The 3rd person may be only extravert, and therefore the full (→ any) reflexivization is impossible in this series. In this way the extravertizer *-o-*, which thus may be used only with the extravert persons, in the 3rd person becomes irrelevant feature of the indirect-object formant *x-* in Svan:

x-o-gem "he builds it for him" side by side with *x-e-g-i* "it is built for him", *x-ǰ-g* "it is standing on him" [differently from *-e-* (passive)*, (*x*)-*a-* (stativity), *-o-* has no meaning of its own, except extraverticity which is also inherent to *x-*; therefore in modern Georgian, where the indirect-object formant *h-||s-* may be used without the versionizer and is lost before vowels, it becomes an allomorph of the indirect-object formant *h-||s-*, cf. *h-ǰvet-s* "he cuts it him off" and *u-ǰvet-s* "he ruins him" or *mo-s-di-s* = *mo-u-di-s* "it happens to him"***].

4.3.1.10. M. Machavariani (1980₂) ascribes voice to conversive-inversive transformations of invariant semantics which belong to the relative level of the language structure and therefore do not need semantical definitions. In this respect voice is not a grammatical category at all. It has no morphosyntactical base of its own and uses the ready patterns present in a language. These are versional oppositions whose use as a morphosyntactical pattern for voice is the most typical.

Unlike A. Shanidze (1953), M. Machavariani defines as passive only conversive transformations, i. e. those which depend on the communicant's conscientious attitude to whether the subject or the object is the fundamental theme. Therefore conversion appears to have no semantics of its own. It is subordinated to version in Kartvelian (not every verb with versional opposition may undergo conversion), though version loses its semantics in the passive transformation.

Thus the necessary features of the passive in Svan are either the intravertizer *-i-*, or the versionizer *-e-*. The other feature is the suffix *-i* which signals the passive but is not its marker, since the same *-i* may be a theme-formant in the active. Its combination with a versional formant (*VS-i*) seems to be the marker of the passive in Svan though only in the present.

Medium has no marker either in Svan or in Georgian.

4.3.1.11. The category of aspect is represented by the imperfective and perfective which are expressed either by the screeves (see 4.3.1.12) as in O. Georgian or (the perfective) by preverbs as in Modern Georgian. The latter takes place in the apophonic stems (the second conjugational group); in other stems the screeval expression of the perfective is usually accompanied by preverbs except those rare instances when the verb cannot have a prefix.

4.3.1.12.1. In 1977 A. Volodin and V. Khrakovsky expressed an opinion that tense and mood should be treated as one category. Though they did

**-o-* may be also used for passive in Svan but it is unmarked in respect to passive.

**The latter explications slightly differ from those of M. Machavariani.

not point to A. Shaniдзе who had drawn the same conclusion 36 years before (Shaniдзе, 1941) and who employs the concept of this category, *screeve*, in all his works. For A. Shaniдзе *screeve* is a complex category in the frame of which other categories are realized in the form of changing elements, such as person or number. Though the distinctive features of the category of *screeve* are certain constant elements by which one *screeve* differs from another, first and foremost — tense and mood (Shaniдзе, 1982, 1978₁).

The three series of *screeves* differ from each other in their syntactical usage (see 3.3) in Kartvelian. As a result in the 3rd series the use of the two series of the personal formants, in respect of the logical subject, is reversed to their use in the 1st and 2nd series (see Conjugation 4.3.2.1). Such inversion also takes place with static verbs in the 1st series. By the inversion the versional differences are neutralized, the intravertizer *-i-* and the extravertizer *-o-* being used automatically in the 1st, 2nd and in the 3rd person.

In Svan in the perfective *screeves* of the 1st series (future, conditional) and in all the 2nd series the use of preverbs is the rule. Preverbs are not used only with defective verbs (*habendi*, *sentendi*) which substitute for the 2nd series by forms of the 1st series. In the 3rd series the use of preverbs depends on aspect.

As well as in other Kartvelian languages (and also in Indo-European!), the 1st ("present-imperfect") series in Svan may differ from the 2nd ("aorist") series by the presence of a thematic suffix. No thematic suffix is possible in the 2nd series. As for the 3rd series, in Svan it uses stems of the 2nd series (such derivation sporadically occurs in Georgian, too) and therefore there are no thematic suffixes in it. In Georgian the stems of the 3rd series are derived from those of the 1st series and therefore there are thematic suffixes in the 3rd series in Georgian. Sporadically the use of the 1st series' stems for the 3rd series, and consequently — the presence of thematic suffixes, is testified also in Svan, especially in Lentekh, while in Georgian dialects the use of the 2nd series' stems without thematic suffixes for the 3rd series' stems is very common*.

*Cf. *da-u-rek-av-s* and *da-u-rek-ia* "he has rung". It makes no difference whether it is an innovation or not. All the data show the weakness of the thematic suffix and this is an evidence for the later formation of the 3rd series in Kartvelian. As for the relation of the 1st series' stems with thematic suffixes to the 2nd series' stems without them, it is a common Kartvelian-Indo-European isogloss, cf. O. Armenian 1st series praes. *banay* "he opens" — the 2nd series aor. *e-ba-c* "he opened" or Greek praes. *ónnūsi* "he swears" — aor. *ōmose* "he swore", *e-* in Armenian being augmentum (this appears only in one-syllable 3 sg. forms, a phenomenon which can explain the metric origin of augmentum also in Greek and Aryan, i. e. first in one-syllable forms).

It seems that the thematic suffix in the 1st series in Kartvelian and Indo-European was lexical-derivational with a permansive meaning. Later it began to mark those imperfective permansive (→ present, imperfect) stems which otherwise could not be differentiated from stems with the perfective (→ aorist) meaning. Modern Lithuanian well fits to illustrate this statement. Taking the permansive-iterative suffix *-inė-*, we may depict the parent-language "proto-present" as imperfective permansive *sak-inė-j-* (praes. *-a*, if. *-o*) "he use(-s, -d) to say" and "proto-aorist" as perfective *sāk-* (praes. *-o*, if. *-ė*) "says, said once and for all". Cf. without suffix: *mīrk-o* (praes.) "is usually soaking": *mīrk-o* (if.) "was soaked", *mērk-* "soak(ed) smth."

4.3.1.12.2. The imperative has no screeves of its own. The positive imperative for the 2nd person is expressed by the corresponding aorist form or (ask) by the imperfect form (imperfect also being used if the aorist is missing), the negative imperative is expressed by the present form with the negative particle *nōm(is)* or by the aorist conjunctive (by the present conjunctive if the aorist is missing) with the particles *nōma* or *nōsa*. For the 1st and the 2nd persons the conjunctive is used.

4.3.2.1. Let us illustrate the Svan conjugation first in one screeve.

a) absolute monovalent monopersonal intransitive static verb (masdar *lirde* "existing", present, neutral version):

(mi)	xw-ä-r-i	"I exist"
(si)	x-ä-r-i	"thou existest"
(eʒa)	ä-r-i	"he exists"
(näj)	xw-ä-r-i-d	"we exist without you (thee)"
—"	l-ä-r-i-d	"we and you (thou) exist together"
(sgāj)	x-ä-r-i-d	"you exist"
(eʒjār)	ä-r-i-x	"they exist"

b) relative bivalent bipersonal intransitive static (*liqēne* "having of some animate", present, neutral version):

(mi - si, eʒa)	m-a-q-a	"I have thee, him"
(mi - sgāj)	m-a-q-a-d	"I have you"
(mi - eʒjār)	m-a-q-a-x	"I have them"
(eʒas, eʒjārs-mi)	xw-a-q-a	"he has, they have me"
(eʒas, eʒjārs-nāj)	xw-a-q-a-d	"he has, they have us, not you (thee)"
—, —	l-a-q-a-d	"he has, they have us and you (thee)"
(si-mi, eʒa, eʒjār; sgāj-mi)	ʒ-a-q-a	"thou hast me, him, them; you have me"
(si, sgāj-nāj)	ʒ-a-q-a-d	"thou hast, you have us (without thee, you)"
(sgāj-eʒa, eʒjār)	ʒ-a-q-a-x	"you have him, them"
(nāj-si, eʒa)	n-a-q-a	"we without you (thee) have thee, him"
(nāj-eʒjār)	n-a-q-a(-x)	"we without you (thee) have them"
(nāj-sgāj)	n-a-q-a-d	"we without you (thee) have you"
(nāj-eʒa)	gw-a-q-a	"we and you (thou) have him"
(nāj-eʒjār)	gw-a-q-a(-x)	"we and you (thou) have them"
(eʒas-si, eʒa, eʒjār; eʒjārs-si)	x-a-q-a	"he has thee, him, them; they have thee"
(eʒas, eʒjārs-sgāj)	x-a-q-a-d	"he has, they have you"
(eʒjārs-eʒa, eʒjār)	x-a-q-a-x	"they have him, them"

From the possessor's point of view the verb is inversed (inversive), the logical subject (possessor = grammatical indirect object) being in the dative case and the logical direct object (grammatical subject) being in the nominative case. The same is true of the static verbs in the 1st series and of the transitive verbs in the 3rd series. Since in all

of the instances the logical subject is treated as grammatical indirect object, and since they are bivalent, no place remains for the grammatical direct object. Therefore only one vector of orientation is possible with any person, the versional transformation being impossible. As a result the two series of the personal formants are either used with the neutral versionizers *-a-*, *-e-*, or join the versionizers *-i-*, *-o-* depending on the corresponding orientation of their own, i. e. $m + i$, $\text{ʒ} + i$, $xw + o = xo$, $x + o$, $x + o$. Since version becomes automatical, the verbal valency does not increase.

Thus the conjugational pattern, e. g. for the paradigm of the 3rd series' inversives, always may be described by the following Shanidze scheme:

LS	LO						
	1.me (mi)	2.thee (si)	3.him (eʒa)	I.us exc. (nāj)	I.us inc. (nāj)	II.you (sgāj)	III.them (eʒjār)
1. I (mi)		mi-	mi-			mi-d	mi-x
2. thou (si)	ʒi-		ʒi-	ʒi-d			ʒi-
3. he (eʒas)	xo-	xo-	xo-	xo-d	lo-d	xo-d	xo-
I. we exc. (nāj)		ni-	ni-			ni-d	ni-(x)
I. we inc. (nāj)			gwi-				gwi-(x)
II. you (sgāj)	ʒi-		ʒi-x	ʒi-d			ʒi-x
III. they (eʒjārs)	xo-	xo-	xo-x	xo-d	lo-d	xo-d	xo-x

The analogous scheme is more simple in Georgian because of the absence of exclusivity-inclusivity there.

The typical anomaly of Svan is the expression of you-him with $\text{ʒ}-x$, $-x$ being a formant of the 3rd person plural. The same is in the non-inversive verbs in which $\text{ʒ}-x$ means he-you.

c) absolute monovalent monopersonal intransitive reflexive (=passive) (*limāre* "preparing", with the intraversion, present):

(mi)	xw-i-mār-i	"I prepare myself"
(si)	x-i-mār-i	"thou preparest thyself"
(eʒa)	i-mār-i	"he prepares himself", "it is prepared"
(nāj)	xw-i-mār-i-d	"we but not you(thou) prepare ourselves"
—, —	l-i-mār-i-d	"we and you(thou) prepare ourselves"
(sgāj)	x-i-mār-i-d	"you prepare yourselves"
(eʒjār)	i-mār-i-x	"they prepare themselves"

d) relative bivalent bipersonal transitive active ("I prepare him, them", etc., with the neutral version, present):

S	Od						
	1. me (mi)	2. thee (si)	3. him (eʃa-s)	I exc. us (nāi)	I inc. us (nāi)	II. you (sgāi)	III. them (eʃār-ʃ)
I							
1.		ʃ-a-mār-e	xw-a-mār-e			ʃ-a-mār-e	xw-a-mār-e
2.	m-a-mār-e		x-a-mār-e	n-a-mār-e			x-a-mār-e
3.	m-a-mār-e	ʃ-a-mār-e	a-mār-e	n-a-mār-e	gw-a-mār-e	ʃ-a-mār-e-x	a-mār-e
I exc.							
we (nāi)		ʃ-a-mār-e-d	xw-a-mār-e-d			ʃ-a-mār-e-d	xw-a-mār-e-d
I inc.							
we (nāi)			l-a-mār-e-d				l-a-mār-e-d
II.							
you (sgāi)	m-a-mār-e-d		x-a-mār-e-d	n-a-mār-e-d			x-a-mār-e-d
III.							
they (eʃār)	m-a-mār-e-x	ʃ-a-mār-e-x	a-mār-e-x	n-a-mār-e-x	gw-a-mār-e-x	ʃ-a-mār-e-x	a-mār-e-x

As can be seen, the usage of formants is the opposite of their usage in the inersive verb. Here as well the same anomaly takes place: (*eʒa - sgāj*) *ʒ-a-mār-e-x* "he prepares you" with the formant -x of the 3rd person in plural.

e) relative trivalent bipersonal transitive active ("I prepare him, them for him, them", etc., with the intra- and extraversion, present) – the picture differs from the previous one only in versionizers pointing to the indirect object:

S	Od						
	1	2	3	I exc.	I inc.	II	III
1		ʒi-	xo-			ʒi-	xo-
2	mi-		xo-	ni-			xo-
3	mi-	ʒi-	xo-	ni-	gwi-	ʒi-x	xo-
I exc.		ʒi-d	xo-d			ʒi-d	xo-d
I inc.			lo-d				lo-d
II	mi-d		xo-d	ni-d			xo-d
III	mi-x	ʒi-x	xo-x	ni-x	gwi-x	ʒi-x	xo-x

This scheme is especially convenient to compare with the inersive one.

Two other possibilities are to be mentioned:

f) relative bivalent bipersonal transitive active (the reflexivization of i: "I prepare him, them for myself", etc., with the intraversion, present), and

g) relative bivalent bipersonal intransitive passive (the passive reflexivization of e: "I prepare myself = I am prepared for him, them", etc., with the intra- and extraversion expressed by the common versionizer -e-, present):

S	Od						
	1	2	3	I exc.	I inc.	II	III
1		ʒi-	xwi-			ʒi-	xwi-
2	mi-		xi-	ni-		ʒi-	xi-
3	mi-	ʒi-	i-	ni-	gwi-	ʒi-x	i-
I exc.		ʒi-d	xwi-d			ʒi-d	xwi-d
I inc.			li-d				li-d
II	mi-d		xi-d	ni-d			xi-d
III	mi-x	ʒi-x	i-x	ni-x	gwi-x	ʒi-x	i-x

g) the final thematic vowel is substituted for by the formant -i: *xw-e-mār-i* (cp. c):

S	Oi						
	1	2	3	I exc.	I inc.	II	III
1		ǰe-i	xwe-i			ǰe-i	xwe-i
2	me-i		xe-i	ne-i		ǰe-i	xe-i
3	me-i	ǰe-i	xe-i	ne-i	gwe-i	ǰe-ix	xe-i
I exc.		ǰe-id	xwe-id			ǰe-id	xwe-id
I inc.			le-id				le-id
II	me-id		xe-id	ne-id			xe-id
III	me-ix	ǰe-ix	xe-ix	ne-ix	gwe-ix	ǰe-ix	xe-ix

4.3.2.2. Let us examine the derivation of screeves in all the three conjugational groups.

Group I (e. g. the verb *li-g-em* "building", *-em* being a thematic suffix) consists of verbs which undergo transitive active-intransitive passive conversive transformation without the stem ablaut. In the present their stems end in *-i*, *-e* or in a consonant with a preceding narrow (umlautized) vowel signaling the former existence of the final **-i*, **-e*. *-i* is always represented in the present passive (or reflexive) where it is accompanied by the versionizers *-i-*, *-e-*.

Group II (e. g. the verb trans. act. *li-ṭx-e* / intrans. pass. *li-ṭex* "returning") consists of apophonic verbs with the *i*-degree of the stem vocalism (reduced or not) in the transitive active and the *e*-degree of the stem vocalism (reduced, umlautized, or not) in the intransitive passive or in the dynamic medium. This qualitative vowel gradation is not connected with screeve (unlike Georgian). The active forms are characterized by the lengthened stem vocalism (i. e. by *-ī-*) in the perfect.

Group III (e. g. the verb *li-g-ne* "standing") consists of (medial) static verbs and is characterized by the absence of a number of forms, namely – of the 2nd series.

The most characteristic feature of the verbs of groups II and III is the infixation of the 1st and the 2nd personal extravert formants (their sound *x* being lost and thus zero becoming the marker of the 2nd and the 3rd persons!) into the stem before its first vowel.

In all the three groups the verbal stem in the present active coincides with the corresponding masdar-stem (masdar form without the prefix *li-*).

In all perfective screeves (Groups I and II) the use of a preverb is the rule.

4.3.2.2.1. The first conjugational group, *ligem*

The 1st series of screeves

1. Present

Active bivalent with the neutral version:

xwagem

xugem

magem

"I build it, them"

"I stand it",...

"he stands me",...

xagem	xagem	ǰagem
"thou buildest it",...	"thou standest it",...	"I stand thee",...
agem	ǰagem	
"he builds it"	"he stands it"	
lagemd	lǰemd	gugem
"we all build it"	"we all stand it"	"he stands us and you"
	etc.	

Active trivalent with the intraversion:

migem
 "he builds it for me"
 ǰigem
 "I build it for thee"
 gwigem
 "he builds it for us and you"
 etc.

Active bivalent reflexive:

xwigem	migem
"I build, stand it for myself"	"he stands me for himself"
xigem	ǰigem
"thou buildest, standest it for thyself"	"I stand thee for myself"
igem	
"he builds, stands it for himself"	
ligemd	gwigem
"we all build it for ourselves"	"he stands us and you for himself"

Reflexive-passive monovalent:

*xw-i-g(m)-i, xw-i-g-i
 "I stand myself", "I am stood"*
 *xigi
 "thou standest thyself", "thou art stood"
 igi
 * "he stands himself", "it is built"
 *ligid
 "we and you stand ourselves", "we are stood"
 etc.

Active trivalent with the extraversion:

xogem
 "I build it for him"
 "thou buildest it for him"
 "he builds it for him"

*The meanings "to stand oneself", "to be stood" are artificial (the latter is not artificial in the 3rd person inanimate); since the meaning "to be built" is impossible in the 1st and 2nd persons in normal speech, these forms are not met. We give them in order to illustrate the full paradigm.

logemd

"we and you build it for him"

etc.

Reflexive-passive

bivalent:

*xwegi

"I stand myself by him",

"I am stood for him"

xegi

*"thou standest thyself by him"

"it is built for him"

*legid

"we and you are stood for him"

*megi

"he stands himself by me"

"he is stood for me"

*žegi

"I stand myself by thee"

*gwegi

"he stands himself by us and you"

etc.

As for the intravert trivalent forms, V. T o p u r i a (1967) points out one more meaning: *mirdi* "he brings me up for him". Such a possibility has not been testified by us in Upper Svan. Here we have to do with Georgian fact where *-i-* does really function as if it were extravert (Shanidzian 'sasxviso'), cf. AOR *da-m-i-gen-a vaçar-s* "he appointed me to a merchant". We consider this phenomenon (which is exceptionally rare in Georgian) to be a later Georgian innovation (the same is M. M a c h a v a r i a n i's opinion) which is a supercorrection of the extravert *da-m-a-gen-a* according to the direct-object 1, 2 sg. (*-m,...*) in the bivalent form (*da-m-i-gen-a* regular "he appointed me for himself") and to the trivalent character of the form with the indirect-object 1, 2 sg. (*da-m-i-gen-a* regular "he appointed him for me") — cf. the Svan trivalent *migem* "he builds it for me" and the bivalent *migem* "he stands me for himself". We have not found anomalies of the type **mirdi* "he brings me up for him" in Upper Svan.

A significant peculiarity of the Svan passive in all the screeves of the 1st series is the unmotivated elimination of the thematic suffix there: *igi* instead of *igmi*. Passive forms with the thematic suffix are exceptional and sound unusual (cf. the following screeves).

If a verb has the single thematic stem-ending *-i* in the present active, active forms with the intravertizer *-i-* always coincide with the monovalent passive forms in the present, e. g. *i-qn-i* "he ploughs it for himself" = "it is ploughed".

2. Imperfect

Active bivalent with
the version:

xw-a-gām-dā-s, xugāmdās mēgāmda

x-a-gām-dā-s, xēgāmdās žēgāmda

a-gām-da, jēgāmda

Reflexive-passive
monovalent:

l-a-gām-da-d,	lögāmdad	gugāmda	xw-i-g(m)-ōl-dā-s
	etc.		x-i-g - ōl-dā-s
Active bivalent reflexive:			i-g - ōl-da
xwigāmdās		migāmda	l-i-g - ōl-da-d
xigāmdās		ḡigāmda	etc.
igāmda			
ligāmdad		gwigāmda	
	etc.		

Active trivalent with
the intraversion:

Reflexive-passive
bivalent*:

	migāmda		
	ḡigāmda	xwegōldās	megōlda
	gwigāmda	xegōldās	ḡegōlda
	etc.	xegōlda	
Active trivalent with the extraversion:		legōldad	gwegōlda
xogāmdās			etc.
xogāmdās			
xogāmda			
etc.			

Verbs with the present active in *-e* form the imperfect without *-da*: *xwamāre* "I prepare him" → *xwamārās*, 2 sg. *xamārās*, 3 sg. *amāra*, etc. The imperfect pattern with *-da* correlates to the present active in *-i*: *xwaqni* "I plough it" → *xwaqāndās*. Here one can see the ground to collate the narrow vocalism of the stem vowel preceding the final consonant of the consonantal present-stem active verbs with the verbs in *-i*, cf.

- 1) *xwaqāndās* = *xwagāmdās*, but *xwaqni* and *xwagem*
vrs.

- 2) *xwamārās*, but *xwamāre*.

Thus the narrow stem vocalism in the present in the first instance seems to be the usual result of the umlaut, the final *-i* dropped**.

The "recreation" of the stem vocalism in the imperfect and in the present conjunctive (if. *xwa-qān-dās*, praes. cnj. *xwa-qān-dēd* vrs. praes. *xwa-qn-i*) seems to have occurred due to the addition of one more syllable, reduction having operated only in the syllables neighbouring upon the syllable which caused reduction, cf. 3 sg. if. *aqanīda* vrs. praes. *aqni*.

*There is no versional orientation in the reflexive-passive, the extravert and intravert orientation being personal and expressed by personal formants (see also further, 4.3.2.2.2.2, the automatical use of *-o-*, *-i-* in this screeve in the second group). Therefore forms with the extravert and the intravert personal formants are to be given in the same paradigm.

masdar **ligami*, praes. **xwagami* > **ligāmi*, **xwagāmi* > *ligem*, *xwagem*. The derivative model of 1) entirely differs from 2): the fact that in the instance of *xwagem* it is the stem vowel that is preserved, while it is the stem ending in *xwaqni* (the stem vowel reduced), points out some binomial relation. The distribution of this kind seems to have been developed due to athematic (xwaqni-i*) and thematic (**xwag-am-i*) derivation of these stems.

If a verb has \bar{e} in the stem, it changes into $\bar{ä}$ in the imperfect and the present conjunctive, cf. *xwadēsgi* "I put it down" vs. if. *xwadäsgdäs*, praes. cnj. *xwadäsgdēd*. The reason seems to be either the non-palatal umlaut $\bar{e} > \bar{ä}$ under the influence of the hypothetical formant of the imperfect -w, once disappeared before -da, or the palatal umlautizing of the previous $\bar{ä}$ which turned into $\bar{ä}$ in the present after the disappearance of the final -i. Later the latter was morphologically reconstructed thus causing the secondary umlaut $\bar{ä} > \bar{e}$.

Besides the models in -g, -da, a number of other, less popular models are in use, mostly in L. Bal. Thus in Bechwi the final -s of the 1st and the 2nd persons joins -g/w: *xwamarasgw*, *xamarasgw*, *amara*, etc. (without -g- in speech of the younger generation) thus showing the reason of the non-palatal umlaut (2.1.2.2) in U. Bal (*xwamār*)äs, (*xwagāmd*)äs, etc. In Etser -e and -i-stem verbs end in zero without the stem ending in the 1st and in the 2nd singular while in the 3rd singular e- stems end in -a and i- stems end in -iw or in -ew, this w being in other stems as well (*xwasoq*, *xasoq*, *asoqa*, etc. "maddened him", *xwadgār*, *xadgār*, *adgāriw*, etc. "killed him").

For the models in -ən and (contaminated) -ənda, see static verbs 4.3.2.2.3.2.

3. Present conjunctive

Active:

xwa-, xwi-,
xo-gām-d-ēd
xagām-d-ēd
agām-d-ēd-s
lagām-d-ēd-d(!)
etc.

Passive:

xwi-, xwe-g(m)-ōl-d-ēd
xigōl-d-ēd
igōl-d-ēd-s
ligōl-d-ēd-d
etc.

Features, characterizing the imperfect, characterize the present conjunctive too: e. g. verbs with the present active in -e form present conjunctive by the only -ēd- (i. e. without -d-): *xwamārēd*.

The pronunciation of the doubled *d* in the 1st plural inclusive is very clear.

4. Imperfective future

Active:

xwagm-uni
xagm-uni
agm-uni
lagm-uni
etc.

Passive:

xwig(m)-ōl-ni
xigōl-ni
igōl-ni
ligōl-ni-d
etc.

In intransitive verbs without the indirect object the active forms use the suffix -ini: *igərgāl̄ni* < *i-gərgal-ini* "he will speak" but *x-a-gərgal-wni* < *-uni* "he will speak to him".

5. Perfective future

Active bivalent with
the neutral version:

ot-gem-ne am-gem-ne
at-gem-ne aʒ-gem-ne
ad-gem-ne
al-gem-ne-d agw-gem-ne
etc.

Active bivalent reflexive:

ätw-gem-ne ämgemne
ätg-gem-ne äʒgemne
ädgem-ne
älgem-ne ägwgemne
etc.

Active trivalent with
the intraversion:

ämgemne
äʒgemne
ägwgemne
etc.

Active trivalent with
the extraversion:

otgemne
otgemne
odgemne
olgemned
etc.

Reflexive-passive
monovalent:

ätw-g(m)-(öl)-i|| a
ätg(öl)-i || ätg(öl)a
ädg(öl)-i || ädg(öl)a
älg(öl)-i || älg(öl)a
etc.

Reflexive-passive
bivalent:

ätwg(öl)-i a	ämg(öl)-i a
ätg(öl)-i a	äʒg(öl)-i a
ätg(öl)-i a	
älg(öl)-i a	äwg(öl)-i a
	etc.

Here the preverb *ad-* of the perfective meaning is used. In pure shape it is represented in the neutra- or intravert forms of the 3rd person active and monovalent (absolute) passive because no *x* (of the 1st or the 2nd persons' formant) follows the preverb there (see the rule 2.3.2). On the contrary, in bivalent (relative) passive the consonant of the preverb is assimilated in the 3rd person to the following indirect-object formant *x-* and thus the differentiation between the absolute and the relative passive forms is achieved in a paradigm with the extravert personal formants.

The vocalic mutation *a- > o-* at the onset is due to the progressive incontinuous assimilation either of *w* of the 1st singular formant or of the extravertizer *-o-* reduced. Upper Bal retains *w* of the 1st singular formant before the intravertizer *-i-* reduced: *ätw-*. In all instances in Lower Bal only *ot-* is met in the 1st person singular.

Verbs with the present active in *-e*, *-i* form the perfective future in *-i(-ne)*: *amäre*

"he prepares" → *an-mār-i* || *an-mār-ne*. The latter form (together with the non-reduced Lentekh *-ine*) shows that we have *-ine* in the same *adgemne* as well (Topuria, 1967).

In the passive the formant *-ōl-* may be optionally used only in the verbs with a thematic suffix (as *li-g-em*). Therefore verbs ending in *-i* in the active, when intravert, coincide with the corresponding (absolute) passive forms, e. g. *šw"ūd-xaṭw-i* "he will paint it for himself" and "it will be painted".

6. Imperfective conditional

The screeve is formed by means of the suffix *-ōl* from the forms of the imperfective future:

Active:

xwagm-un-ōl
etc.

Passive:

xwig(m)ōl-n-ōl
etc.

Forms in *-iw* are used in Lower Bal side by side with the forms in *-ol*, e. g. *i-šb-un-iw* || *i-šbun-ol* "if he cooked".

7. Perfective conditional

The active is formed from the perfective future either by the suffix *-a* (with the ending *-s* < **-sw(?)* in the 1st and 2nd singular), or by lengthening of the final *-i* and the formant *-(i)s*. The passive is formed by means of the suffix *-ōl* from the perfective future forms without *-ōl-*:

Active:

ot-gem-n-ā-s
atgemnās
adgemna
etc.

Passive:

ätw-g-ōl
ätgōl
ädgōl
etc.

The active in *-īs* is used if a verb ends in *-i* in the perfective future, e. g. *adxaṭwi* "he will paint it" → 1 sg. *otxaṭwīs*, 2 sg. *atxaṭwīs*, 3 sg. *adxaṭwīs*, or of the verb "to prepare": *oxwmārīs*, *axmārīs*, *anmārīs* (with the preverb *an-*).

8. Narrative present

Active bivalent with
the neutral version:

lə-m-gām-win-xwi
-xi
(-li)
etc.

Passive monovalent:

lə-m-g(m)-ōl-win-xwi
-xi
(-li)
etc.

Active extravert trivalent
with the neutral versionizer:

xw-ä-gm-ina	mägmina
xägmina	žägmina
xägmina	
lägminad	gwägmina
etc.	

Passive bivalent:

xw-ä-g(m)-öl-na	mägōlna
xägōlna	žägōlna
xägōlna	
lägōlnad	gwägōlna
etc.	

Forms without indirect object are analytical, the first component being a past participle form with the inserted *-m(a)-* and suffixed *-une*: *ləmgāmune* > *ləmgāmwin*. The second component — the auxiliary verb "to be", is not necessary in the 3rd person.

9. Narrative imperfect

Active bivalent:

ləmgāmwin-xwäsw
-xäsw
-läsw
etc.

Passive monovalent:

ləmgōlwin-xwäsw
-xäsw
-läsw
etc.

Active extravert trivalent:

xw-ä-gm-in-än	mägminän
xägminän	žägminän
xägminän	
lägminänd	gwägminän
etc.	

Passive bivalent:

xw-ä-g(m)-öl-n-än	mägōlnän
xägōlnän	žägōlnän
xägōlnän	
lägōlnänd	gwägōlnän
etc.	

10. Narrative conjunctive

Active bivalent:

ləmgāmwin-xwesw
-xesw
-lesw
etc.

Passive monovalent:

ləmgōlwin-xwesw
-xesw
-lesw
etc.

Active trivalent:

xw-ägm-in-ēn	mägminēn
xägminēn	žägminēn
xägminēn	
lägminēnd	gwägminēn
etc.	

Passive bivalent:

xw-ä-g(m)-öl-n-ēn	mägōlnēn
xägōlnēn	žägōlnēn
xägōlnēn	
lägōlnēnd	gwägōlnēn
etc.	

The 2nd series of screeves

11. Aorist

Active bivalent with
the neutral version:

ot-ə-g* amge
at-ə-g aʒge
ad-g-e
al-g-e-d agwge
etc.

Active bivalent reflexive:

ätw-ig ämge
ät-ig äʒge
äd-g-e
äl-g-e-d ägwge
etc.

Active trivalent with
the intraversion:

ämge
äʒge
ägwge
etc.

Active trivalent with the
extraversion:

ot-o-g
ot-o-g
od-g-e
ol-g-e-d
etc.

Reflexive-passive
monovalent:

ätw-g-än
ät-g-än
äd-g-än
äl-g-än-d
etc.

Reflexive passive
bivalent:

ätw-g-än	äm g än
ät-g-än	äʒ g än
ät-g-än	
äl-g-än-d	ägw g än
	etc.

If the form of the 3rd person differs in its onset from the form of the 2nd person in the passive, their difference in the final morpheme may be eliminated: forms with the generalized -*än* often occur in relative (monovalent) verbs.

The stem of the 3rd person singular is used to derive the plural forms, therefore the 1st and the 2nd persons appear to be unlike in the singular and in the plural, cp. 1 sg. *ätwig* and 1 pl. *ätwged* or 2 sg. *ätig* and 2 pl. *ätged*.

* -ə- is a glide.

12. Aorist conjunctive

Active bivalent with
the neutral version:

ot-g-a amgas
at-g-a aʒgas
ad-g-a-s
al-g-a-d agwgas
 etc.

Active bivalent reflexive:

ätw-g-a ämgas
ät-g-a äʒgas
äd-g-a-s
äl-g-a-d ägwgas
 etc.

Active trivalent with
the intraversion:

 amgas
 äʒgas
 ägwgas
 etc.

Reflexive-passive
monovalent:

ätw-g-ën
ät-g-ën
äd-g-ën-s
äl-g-ën-d
etc.

Reflexive-passive
bivalent:

ätw-g-ën ämgëns
ät-g-ën äʒgëns
ät-g-ën-s
äl-g-ën-d ägwgëns
 etc.

Active trivalent with the extraversion:

ot-g-a
ot-g-a
od-g-a-s
ol-g-a-d
etc.

The 3rd series of screeves

13. Perfect

Active: *ämgä* "I¹ (seem to) have built it³" (1-3)*, etc.

äm-g-a (1-3)	äm-g-a-d (1-II)	äm-g-a-x (1-III)
äʒga(2, II-1; II-3, III)	äʒgad(2, II-I)	äʒgax(II-3, III)
ägwga(I inc.-3, III)		ägwgax(I inc.-III)
änga(I exc.-2, 3, III)	ängad(I exc.-II)	ängax(I exc.-III)

*Here and further persons of logical subject (Arabic means singular, Roman means plural) are given in the first place in brackets, and persons of the logical object (direct or indirect) are given in the second place after a dash.

olgad(3, III-I inc.)

otga(3, III-1, 2; 3-3, III)

otgad(3, III-I exc.; 3, III-II)

otgax(III-3, III)

Forms without a preverb (*mīga*, *žiga*, *gwiga*, *xoga*, etc.) are used in the pure resultative meaning. Preverb stresses the unattested character of the situation.

The forms of the auxiliary verb "to be" are not suffixed to differentiate the direct object of the verbs with the inversed extravert personal formant (*otga*), as it takes place in Lower Svan (Lashkh, Lentekh) and in Georgian (cf. Geor. praes. *v-a-k-eb* "I praise him", pf. *m-i-k-ia* "I (seem to) have praised him" but *v-u-k-i* + *-var* "I-him-praise + -I-am" = "he has praised me" or *v-u-k-i* + *-var-t* "I-him-praise + -we-are" = "he has praised us", etc.; in Old Georgian, however, [*v*]/*ukie* in the both instances as in Svan).

The passive may be absolute and relative. Absolute forms are analytic (participle + the auxiliary "to be": *algēl-(l)i* "it seems to have, it has, been built").

Absolute monovalent:

Relative bivalent:

algēl-xwi

ot-g-ēna- (1-3, III)

-xi

až-g-ēna (1-2, II)

amgēna (2-1)

atgēna (2-3, III)

angēna (2-I exc.)

-li

amgēna (3-1)

ažgēna (3-2)

ažgēnax (3-II)

atgēna (3-3, III)

angēna (3-I exc.)

agwgēna (3-I inc.)

-xwišd

ažgēnad (1-2, II)

otgēnad (I exc.-3, III)

algēnad (I inc.-3, III)

-lišd

amgēnad (II-1)

atgēnad (II-3, III)

angēnad (II-I exc.)

-lix

amgēnax (III-1)

ažgēnax (III-2, II)

atgēnax (III-3, III)

angēna(x) (III-I exc.)

agwgēna(x) (III-I inc.)

14. Plu-perfect

Active

All the forms (cf. perfect) may be brought together in the following scheme:

LS _{sg.} - LO _{sg., pl.} : logical subject in the singular, logical direct object in the singular or plural (-d, -x):	LS _{pl.} - LO _{sg., pl.} : logical subject in the plural, logical direct object in the singular or plural (-d, -x):
äm-g-än, -d, -x äṣgän, -d otgän, -d; olgänd	ängän, -d(-x); ägwgän(-x) äṣgän, -d, -x otgän, -d, -x

Passive

Absolute monovalent:

algēl-xwäsw

-xäsw

algēl-läsw

-xwäswd

-läswd

-xäswd

-läswx

Relative bivalent:

ot-g-ēn-än (1-3, III)

aṣ-g-ēn-än (1-2, II)

amgēnän (2-1)

atgēnän (2-3, III)

angēnän (2-I exc.)

amgēnän (3-1)

aṣgēnän (3-2)

aṣgēnänx (3-II)

atgēnän (3-3, III)

angēnän (3-I exc.)

agwgēnän (3-I inc.)

aṣgēnänd (1-2, II)

otgēnänd (I exc.-3, III)

algēnänd (I inc.-3, III)

amgēnänd (II-1)

atgēnänd (II-3, III)

angēnänd (II-I exc.)

amgēnänx (III-1)

aṣgēnänx (III-2, II)

atgēnänx (III-3, III)

angēnän(x) (III-I exc.)

agwgēnän(x) (III-I inc.)

15. Perfect conjunctive

Active

LS _{sg.} - LO _{sg., pl.} (-s) (-d, -x)	LS _{pl.} - LO _{sg., pl.} (-s) (-d, -x)
äm-g-ēn, -s, -d, -x äṣgēn, -s, -d otgēn-s, -d; olgēnd	ängēn, -s, -d, -x; ägwgēn-s(-x) äṣgēn, -d, -x otgēn, -d, -x

Passive

Absolute monovalent:

algēl-xwesw

-xesw

-lesw

-xweswd

-leswd

-xeswd

-leswx

Relative bivalent:

ot-g-ēn-ēn (1-3, III)

až-g-ēn-ēn (1-2, II)

amgēnēn (2-1)

atgēnēn (2-3, III)

angēnēn (2-I exc.)

amgēnēns (3-1)

ažgēnēns (3-2)

ažgēnēnx (3-II)

atgēnēns (3-3, III)

angēnēns (3-I exc.)

agwgēnēns (3-I inc.)

ažgēnēnd (1-2, II)

otgēnēnd (I exc.-3, III)

algēnēnd (I inc.-3, III)

amgēnēnd (II-1)

atgēnēnd (II-3, III)

angēnēnd (II-I exc.)

amgēnēnx (III-1)

ažgēnēnx (III-2, II)

atgēnēnx (III-3, III)

angēnēn(x) (III-I exc.)

agwgēnēn(x) (III-I inc.)

For the ending *-nx* in the plu-perfect and the perfect conjunctive forms, cf. 2.3.2.

4.3.2.2.2. The second conjugational group

The stem vocalism *i* is "restored" in the active and *e* in the passive "disappears" by reduction (2.1.3). Since the passive is marked, its forms always have some formants, here — the suffix *-en* signalling the passive meaning, while the radical *e* (similarly to *i*) may be reduced to zero. No thematic suffixes (except the "passive" ending *-i*) are used.

A specific phenomenon is the automatical* use of the versionizers *-i-*, *-o-* in this group, in the same medial verbs in which *-e-* is used. In this instance *-i-* and *-o-* point out some closer relation: "of one's own", cf. *miča amaxw x-e-ṭxeni* "his enemy returns to him" but *miča gezal x-o-ṭxeni* "his son returns to him". This fact probably points out the medial character of the "passive" here.

*The use is determined by the personal formants of the corresponding orientation and does not change versional orientation: *xw-i-* is impossible!

The 1st series of screeves

1. Present

Active:

(*twix* "I return it"; *fix* "thou returnst it", "he returns it"; *māfix* "thou returnst myself", "he returns myself"; *xwāfix* "I return it (to) him"; *xofix* "I return it for him"; *miṭfix* "he returns me to himself"; "he returns it for me")

Bivalent with the neutral version:

<i>twix-e</i>	<i>m-ə-ṭx-e*</i>
<i>fix-e</i>	<i>ʒ-ə-ṭx-e</i>
<i>fix-e</i>	
<i>lə-ṭx-e-d</i>	<i>gu-ṭx-e</i>

etc.

Bivalent reflexive with the versionizers -i-, -a-:

<i>xwiṭxe</i>	<i>miṭxe, māṭxe</i>
<i>xiṭxe</i>	<i>ʒiṭxe, ʒāṭxe</i>
<i>iṭxe</i>	
<i>liṭxed</i>	<i>gwiṭxe, gwāṭxe</i>

etc.

Trivalent with the intraversion and the versionizers -a-, -i-:

māṭxe, miṭxe
ʒāṭxe, ʒiṭxe
gwāṭxe, gwiṭxe
 etc.

Trivalent with the extraversion and the versionizers -a-, -o-:

Medium (passive):

(*twexni* "I return";
xwēṭxeni "I return to him";
ṭexni "thou returnst";
ṭexni "he returns", "it is returned"
xēṭxeni "thou returnst to him";
 "he returns to him";
 "it is returned to him"
meṭxeni "he returns to me";
 "it is returned to me")

Monovalent:

twex-n-i
ṭex-n-i
ṭex-n-i
lə-ṭx-en-i-d
 etc.

Bivalent with the versionizer -e- or with the automatical versionizers -o-, -i-:

<i>xw-e/o-ṭx-en-i</i>	<i>m-e/i-ṭx-en-i</i>
<i>xēṭxeni, xoṭxeni</i>	<i>ʒēṭxeni, ʒiṭxeni</i>
<i>xēṭxeni, xoṭxeni</i>	
<i>lēṭxenid, loṭxenid</i>	<i>gweṭxeni, gwiṭxeni</i>

etc.

*-ə- is a glide.

xwāṭxe,	xoṭxe
xāṭxe,	xoṭxe
xāṭxe,	xoṭxe
lāṭxed,	loṭxed
etc.	

2. Imperfect

Active

Medium

Bivalent with the neutral Monovalent:
version:

ṭwix-ā-s	məṭxa	
ṭix-ā-s	ʒəṭxa	
ṭix-a		ṭwex-en-dā-s
lə-ṭx-a-d	guṭxa	ṭex-en-dā-s
etc.		ṭex-en-da
		lə-ṭx-en-da-d
		etc.

Bivalent reflexive with the
versionizers -i-, -a-:

xwiṭxās	miṭxa, māṭxa
xiṭxās	ʒiṭxa, ʒāṭxa
iṭxa	
liṭxad	gwiṭxa, gwāṭxa
etc.	

Trivalent with the
intraversion and the
versionizers -a-, -i-:

māṭxa, miṭxa
ʒāṭxa, ʒiṭxa
gwāṭxa, gwiṭxa
etc.

Bivalent with the
versionizer -e- or with
the automatical
versionizers -o-, -i-:

xw-e/o-ṭx-en-dā-s	m-e/i-ṭx-en-da
xeṭxendās, xoṭxendās	ʒeṭxenda, ʒiṭxenda
xeṭxenda, xoṭxenda	
leṭxendad, loṭxendad	gweṭxenda, gwiṭxenda
etc.	

Trivalent with the
extraversion and the
versionizers -a-, -o-:

xwāṭxās,	xoṭxās
xāṭxās,	xoṭxās
xāṭxa,	xoṭxa
lāṭxad,	loṭxad
etc.	

For endings in Lower Bal, see above 4.3.2.2.1.2. Thus in Etser act. *ṭwix*, *ṭix*, *ṭixa*, etc., and -w in med. *ṭwexniw*, *ṭexniw*, etc.

3. Present conjunctive

Active		Medium	
Bivalent with the neutral version:		Monovalent:	
ṭwix-ēd	məṭxēds		
ṭix-ēd	ʒəṭxēds		
ṭix-ēd-s		ṭwex-en-d-ēd	
lə-ṭx-ēd-d	guṭxēds	ṭex-en-d-ēd	
	etc.	ṭex-en-d-ēd-s	
Bivalent reflexive:		l-ə-ṭx-en-d-ēd-d	
		etc.	
xwiṭxēd	miṭxēds, māṭxēds		
xiṭxēd	ʒiṭxēds, ʒāṭxēds		
iṭxēds			
liṭxēdd	gwiṭxēds, gwāṭxēds		
	etc.		
Trivalent with the intraversion:		Bivalent:	
māṭxēds,	miṭxēds	xweṭxendēd,	meṭxendēds,
		xoṭxendēd	miṭxendēds
ʒāṭxēds,	ʒiṭxēds	xəṭxendēd,	ʒəṭxendēds,
		xoṭxendēd	ʒiṭxendēds
gwāṭxēds,	gwiṭxēds	xəṭxendēds,	
		xoṭxendēds	
	etc.	leṭxendēdd,	gweṭxendēds,
		loṭxendēdd	gwiṭxendēds
			etc.
Trivalent with the extraversion:			
xwāṭxēd,	xoṭxēd		
xāṭxēd,	xoṭxēd		
xāṭxēds,	xoṭxēds		
lāṭxēdd,	loṭxēdd		
	etc.		

4. Imperfective future

Active		Medium
Bivalent with the neutral version:		Monovalent:
ṭwix-n-uni	məṭṭxuni	xw-i-ṭx-än-wni
ṭix-n-uni	ʒəṭṭxuni	x-i-ṭx-än-wni
ṭix-n-uni		
lə-ṭx-uni-d	guṭṭxuni	i-ṭx-än-wni
etc.		l-i-ṭx-än-wni
		etc.
Bivalent and trivalent:		Bivalent:
xwṭṭxuni, etc.		xw-e/o-ṭx-än-wni, etc.
xwäṭṭxuni, xoṭṭxuni, etc.		

The contamination (from the passive) *-n-* in *ṭwixnuni*, *ṭixnuni* (though *ləṭxunid*, etc.) is peculiar to Upper Bal. It is interesting that the expected *ṭwixuni*, *ṭixuni* are reflected only in Lentekh and Lashkh while in Lower Bal forms without versionizers are not in use. Similarly to the Upper-Bal medium, the imperfective future in Lower Bal is formed by means of the versionizer *-i-* (cf. Geor. fut. med. *i-cxovrebs* "he will live", *i-laparaḳebs* "he will speak"), i. e. *xw-i-ṭx-uni*, the intravert meaning being neutralized.

In the medium the *ä* vocalism of the suffix *-en* is due to *-w-* of the next syllable (the non-palatal umlaut, see 2.1.2.2).

5. Perfective future

Active		Medium
Bivalent with the neutral version:		Monovalent:
äṭwx-e	am-ṭix-e	äṭwx-en-i
äṭx-e	aʒ-ṭix-e	äṭx-en-i
äṭx-e		äṭx-en-i
äl-ṭx-e-d	agw-ṭix-e	äl-ṭx-en-i-d
etc.		etc.
Bivalent reflexive:		
äxw-ṭix-(n)e	äm-ṭix-(n)e, la-m-ṭix-(n)e	
äx-ṭix-(n)e	äʒ-ṭix-(n)e, la-ʒ-ṭix-(n)e	
än-ṭix-(n)e		
äl-ṭix-(n)e-d	ägw-ṭix-(n)e, la-gw-ṭix-(n)e	
etc.		

Trivalent with the
intraversion:

āmṭix(n)e, lamṭix(n)e
äṣṭix(n)e, laṣṭix(n)e
ägwṭix(n)e, lagwṭix(n)e
etc.

Trivalent with the
extraversion:

ox-ṭix-(n)e, lo-xw-ṭix-(n)e
ox-ṭix-(n)e, la-x-ṭix-(n)e
ox-ṭix-(n)e, la-x-ṭix-(n)e
ol-ṭix-(n)e-d, la-l-ṭix-(n)e-d
etc.

Bivalent:

lāxw-ṭex-ni, loxṭexni lāmṭexni
lā-x-ṭex-ni, loxṭexni läṣṭexni
lā-x-ṭex-ni, loxṭexni
lā-l-ṭex-ni, lolṭexnid lägwṭexni
etc.

Here we see an ordinary mysterious example of the intricacy of Svan — the connection of preverbs with the versional meaning: in the active forms without a versionizer have the preverb *ad-*, forms with *-a-* have the preverb *la-* and forms with *-i-*, *-o-* — the preverb *an-*.

In the relative medial forms *-e-* and *-i-* are neutralized because of reduction.

6. Imperfective conditional

Active

ṭwixnun-öl, etc.
xwiṭxnunöl, etc.
xwäṭxnunöl, xoṭxnunöl, etc.

Medium

xwiṭxānw-n-öl, etc.
xweṭxānw-n-öl, xoṭxānw-n-öl, etc.

Forms are derived from those of the imperfective future by means of the suffix *-öl* instead of *-i*.

7. Perfective conditional

Active

äṭwx-ä-s, äṭx-ä-s, äṭx-a, etc.
äxwṭix(n)äs, etc.
oxṭix(n)äs, etc.
loxwṭix(n)äs, etc.

Medium

aṭwxēn, etc.
läxwṭexēn, loxṭexēn, etc.

Forms differ from those of the perfective future only in the endings *-äs*, *-a* instead of *-e* in the active and in the lengthened *-ēn* instead of *-(e)ni* in the medium.

8. Narrative present

Active

Bivalent:

lə-m-ṭix-win -xwi-, -xi, etc.

Trivalent:

xw-ä-ṭx-in-a, xäṭxina, xäṭxina, etc.

Medium

Monovalent:

lə-m-ṭāx-win -xwi, -xi, etc.

Bivalent:

xw-ä-ṭx-än-wn-a, xäṭxänwna, xäṭxänwna, etc.

The vocalism *-ä-* of the versionizer is due to the palatal umlaut, the same vocalism of the stem and of the suffix in the passive is due to the non-palatal umlaut (2.1.2.2).

9. Narrative imperfect

Active

Bivalent:

ləmṭixwin -xwäsw, -xäsw, etc.

Trivalent:

xwäṭxin-än, xäṭxinän, xäṭxinän, etc.

Medium

Monovalent:

ləmṭāxwin -xwäsw, etc.

Bivalent:

xwäṭxänwnän, xäṭxänwnän, xäṭxänwnän, etc.

10. Narrative conjunctive

Active

Bivalent:

ləmṭixwin -xwesw, etc.

Trivalent:

xwäṭxinēn, xäṭxinēn, xäṭxinēn, etc.

Medium

Monovalent:

ləmṭāxwin -xwesw, etc.

Bivalent:

xwäṭxänwnēn, xäṭxänwnēn, xäṭxänwnēn, etc.

The 2nd series of screeves

11. Aorist

Active

Bivalent with the neutral version:

oṭəx* am-ṭix

Medium

Monovalent:

äṭwx || oṭx

*-ə- being glide.

aṭex	aṣ-ṭix	āṭx
aṭix		aṭāx
al-ṭix-d	agw-ṭix	al-ṭāx-d
etc.		etc.

Bivalent reflexive:

oxw-i-ṭx	ām-ṭix, la-m-ṭix
āx-i-ṭx	āṣ-ṭix, la-ṣ-ṭix
ān-ṭix	
āl-ṭix-d	āgw-ṭix, la-gw-ṭix
etc.	

Trivalent with the intraversion:

ām-ṭix, la-m-ṭix
āṣ-ṭix, laṣ-ṭix
āgw-ṭix, lagw-ṭix
etc.

Trivalent with the extraversion:

ox-o-ṭx,	lō-xw-a-ṭx
ox-o-ṭx,	lā-x-a-ṭx
ox-ṭix,	la-x-ṭix
ol-ṭix-d,	la-l-ṭix-d
etc.	

Bivalent:

lō-xw-e-ṭx	lā-m-ṭāx
lā-x-e-ṭx	lāṣ-ṭāx
lā-x-ṭāx	
lā-l-ṭāx-d	lāgw-ṭāx
	etc.

For the use of preverbs, see the perfective future above. The length in *lō-*, *lā-* compensates for the structural impossibility of the reduction in the next syllable (cf. Gamkrelidze-Machavariani, 1965, 1982).

12. Aorist conjunctive

Active

Bivalent with the neutral version:

oṭex-a	am-ṭex-a-s
aṭex-a	aṣṭexas
aṭex-a-s	
al-ṭex-a-d	agwṭexas
etc.	

Bivalent reflexive:

ox-ṭex-a	āmṭexas, lamṭexas
----------	-------------------

Medium

Monovalent:

oṭex
aṭex
aṭex-s
al-ṭex-d
etc.

āx-ṭex-a āṣṭexās, laṣṭexas
 ān-ṭex-a-s
 āl-ṭex-a-d āgwṭexas, lagwṭexas
 etc.

Trivalent with the
intraversion:

āmṭexas, lamṭexas
 āṣṭexas, laṣṭexas
 āgwṭexas, lagwṭexas
 etc.

Trivalent with the
extraversion:

ox-ṭex-a, lo-x-ṭex-a
 ox-ṭex-a, la-x-ṭex-a
 ox-ṭex-a-s, la-x-ṭex-a-s
 ol-ṭex-a-d, la-l-ṭex-a-d
 etc.

Bivalent:

lo-xw-ṭex lām-ṭex-s
 lā-x-ṭex lā-ṣ-ṭex-s
 lā-x-ṭex-s
 lā-l-ṭex-d lā-gw-ṭex-s
 etc.

loxwṭex instead of the expected **lāxwṭex* is probably due to the influence of aor. *lōxwṭex*.

In Lower Bal the active forms with the extravert personal formants are *oṭex-e*, *aṭex-e*, *aṭex-e-s*, *aṭexed* (|| *olṭexed*), etc. Such forms may be met in Upper Bal as well.

The 3rd series of screeves

The stem vowel is lengthened in the active: -ī-.

13. Perfect

Active

LS _{sg.} -LO _{sg.,pl.}	LS _{pl.} -LO _{sg.,pl.}
ām-ṭīx-a mi-ṭīx-a, -d, -x	ānṭīxa niṭīxa; āgwṭīxa gwiṭīxa, -d (, -x)
āṣ-ṭīx-a ṣi-ṭīx-a, -d	āṣṭīxa ṣiṭīxa, -d, -x
ot-ṭīx-a x-o-ṭīx-a, -d; olṭīxad loṭīxad	otṭīxa xoṭīxa, -d, -x

Forms with a preverb usually have the meaning of narrativity while those without a preverb may be narrative perfect as well as purely perfect.

Medium

Absolute monovalent:

āmṭex* -xwi

Relative bivalent:

oxṭexa (1-3, III)
 aṣṭexa (1-2, II)

**ām-ṭex* with *ad-* and participial *me-* (not the personal formant *m* as in *āmṭīxa*!).

-xi	amṭexa (2-1) axṭexa (2-3, III) anṭexa (2-I exc.)
(-li)	amṭexa (3-1) aṣṭexa (3-2) aṣṭexax (3-II) axṭexa (3-3, III) anṭexa (3-I exc.)
-xwišd	agwṭexa (3-I inc.) aṣṭexad (1-2, II) axṭexad (I exc.-3, III)
-lišd	alṭexad (I inc.-3, III) amṭexad (II-1)
-xišd	axṭexad (II-3, III) anṭexad (II-I exc.)
-lix	amṭexax (III-1) aṣṭexax (III-2, II) axṭexax (III-3, III) anṭexa(x) (III-I exc.) agwṭexa(x) (III-I inc.)

14. Plu-perfect

Active

LS _{sg.} - LO _{sg.,pl.}	LS _{pl.} - LO _{sg.,pl.}
āmṭixān miṭixān, -d, -x	ānṭixān niṭixān, āgwṭixān gwiṭixān, -d (, -x)
āṣṭixān ṣiṭixān, -d	āṣṭixān ṣiṭixān, -d, -x
otṭixān xoṭixān, -d; olṭixānd loṭixānd	otṭixān xoṭixān, -d, -x

Medium

āmṭex	-xwāsw	oxṭexān (1-3, III) aṣṭexān (1-2, II)
	-xāsw	amṭexān (2-1) axṭexān (2-3, III) anṭexān (2-I exc.)
	-lāsw	amṭexān (3-1) aṣṭexān (3-2) aṣṭexānx (3-II) axṭexān (3-3, III) anṭexān (3-I exc.) agwṭexān (3-I inc.)

-xwäswd

aʒt̥exãnd (1-2, II)

axt̥exãnd (I exc.-3, III)

-läswd

alt̥exãnd (I inc.-3, III)

-xäswd

amt̥exãnd (II-1)

axt̥exãnd (II-3, III)

ant̥exãnd (II-I exc.)

-läswx

amt̥exãnx (III-1)

aʒt̥exãnx (III-2, II)

axt̥exãnx (III-3, III)

ant̥exãn(x) (III-I exc.)

agwt̥exãn(x) (III-I inc.)

15. Perfect conjunctive

Active

LS _{sg.} - LO _{sg.,pl.}	LS _{pl.} - LO _{sg.,pl.}
ām̥t̥ixēn m̥t̥ixēn, -s, -d, -x	ām̥t̥ixēn n̥t̥ixēn, āgw̥t̥ixēn gwt̥ixēn,
āʒt̥ixēn ʒ̥t̥ixēn, -s, -d	-s (, -d, -x)
ot̥t̥ixēns xo̥t̥ixēns, ot̥t̥ixēnd xo̥t̥ixēnd;	āʒt̥ixēn ʒ̥t̥ixēn, -d, -x
ol̥t̥ixēnd lo̥t̥ixēnd	ot̥t̥ixēn xo̥t̥ixēn, -d, -x

Medium

ām̥t̥ex

-xwesw

ox̥t̥exēn (1-3, III)

aʒt̥exēn (1-2, II)

-xesw

amt̥exēn (2-1)

ax̥t̥exēn (2-3, III)

ant̥exēn (2-I exc.)

-lesw

amt̥exēns (3-1)

aʒt̥exēns (3-2)

aʒt̥exēnx (3-II)

ax̥t̥exēns (3-3, III)

ant̥exēns (3-I exc.)

agwt̥exēns (3-I inc.)

-xweswd

aʒt̥exēnd (I-2, II)

ax̥t̥exēnd (I exc.-3, III)

-leswd

alt̥exēnd (I inc.-3, III)

-xeswd

amt̥exēnd (II-1)

ax̥t̥exēnd (II-3, III)

ant̥exēnd (II-I exc.)

-leswx

amt̥exēnx (III-1)

aʒt̥exēnx (III-2, II)

ax̥t̥exēnx (III-3, III)

ant̥exēn(x) (III-I exc.)

agwt̥exēn(x) (III-I inc.)

4.3.2.2.3. The third conjugational group

Since it consists of static verbs, those which do not express (oriented) action, reflexivization is impossible in them and orientation is merely personal. The versionizers *-i-*, *-o-* are used automatically depending on the corresponding personal formants. Therefore the reflexive combinations *xw-i-*, *x-i-* are impossible.

The personal formants in bivalent verbs show the indirect object often coinciding with the logical subject which therefore is expressed by the dative case. Sometimes, however, alternative interpretations are possible, whether the grammatical indirect object is the same as logical subject or as logical object, e. g. *x-o-r-i* "for him it is" or: "he has", *x-o-ḡur* "to him it is a shame" or: "he is ashamed". The prepositional translation is etymologically literal, the other presupposes the inversion of the subject and the object as it takes place in the 3rd series by the transitive verbs.

The 1st series of screeves

1. Present

Monovalent:

xu-g "I stand"="I am standing"

xu-g-d "we stand(=are standing) without you(thee)"

l-ə-g-d "we stand together with you (thee)"

*x-ə-g** "thou standest"

x-ə-g-d "you stand"

l-ə-g "he stands"

l-ə-g-d "they are standing"

Bivalent:

*m-ā-g*** "on me smb., smth. is standing"

m-ā-g-d "on me you are standing"

m-ā-g-x "on me they are standing"

xwāg "on him, them I am standing"

xwāg-d "on us without you(thee) he is, they are standing"

lāgd "on us and you(thee) he, they are standing"

ḡāg "on thee I am, he(it) is, they are standing"

ḡāg-d "on thee we(without you) are standing"

ḡāgx "on thee, on you they are standing"

nāg "on us without you(thee) thou art, he is standing"

nāg(x) "on us without you(thee) they are standing"

nāgd "on us without you(thee) you are standing"

gwāg "on us and you(thee) he(it) is standing"

gwāg(x) "on us and you(thee) they are standing"

*-ə- being glide: *x-g.

**These forms are derived from forms with the generalized (as if radical) -ə-: $a + ə = ā$; cf. also further -ī-, -ō-.

xāg	"on him, thou art, he(it) is, they are standing"
	"on them thou art standing"
xāgd	"on him, them you are standing"
xāgx	"on him, them he(it) is, they are standing"

Similarly:

mīg "by me smb., smth. is standing", mīgd, mīgx;

ǰīg, ǰīgd, ǰīgx;

nīg; gwīg;

xōg "by him I am, thou art, he(it) is, they are standing", xōgd, xōgx.

The Georgian-like use of the auxiliary verb "to be" to specify grammatical subject (e. g. *ǰāg-xwi* "on thee I am standing") is alien to Upper Svan (cf. 4.3.2.2.1.13).

2. Imperfect

Monovalent:

xugdās || xu-g-ān-dā-s and L. B.

xəgdās || xəgān(dās)

ləgdā || ləgān(da)

etc.

xugān || xugn

xəgān(d) || xəgn

ləgān || ləgn

etc.

Bivalent:

māgda || māgān(da), etc.

xwāgdās || xwāgāndās, etc.

mīgda || mīgān(da), etc.

xōgdās || xōgāndās, etc.

In many static verbs the imperfect is formed by the single *-ən*, e. g. *malṭən* "I loved him" (or with a preposition: "to me he was dear"), *ǰalṭən*, *xalṭən*, etc. The contamination of these forms with the regular in *-da* (as *malāṭda*) results in hybrid derivatives in *-ənda*: *malṭənda*, *ǰalṭənda*, *xalṭənda*, etc.

3. Present conjunctive

Monovalent:

xugdēd || xugāndēd

xəgdēd || xəgāndēd

ləgdēds || ləgāndēds || ləgədēds

etc.

and L. B. xugde || xugānde

xəgde || xəgānde

ləgdes || ləgāndes

etc.

Bivalent:

māgdēds || māgāndēds, etc.

xwāgdēd || xwāgāndēd, etc.

mīgdēds || mīgāndēds, etc.

xōgdēd || xōgāndēd, etc.

4. Future (imperfective only!)

The screeve is formed according to the medial model (see 4.3.2.2.2.4).

Monovalent:

xw-ī-g-n-i	xwīgnid; līgnid
x-ī-g-n-i	xīgnid;
ī-g-n-i	īgnix

Bivalent:

mēgni, etc.
xwēgni, etc.

5. No perfective future is possible

6. Conditional (imperfective only!)

It is derived from the future by means of the suffix -ōl:

xwīgnōl, etc.
mēgnōl, etc.
xwēgnōl, etc.

7. No perfective conditional is possible

8. Narrative present

lə-m-g-en(-ēl)- -xwi, -xi, (-li), etc.

9. Narrative imperfect

ləmgēn(ēl)- -xwāsw, etc.

10. Narrative conjunctive

ləmgēn(ēl)- -xwesw, etc.

No 2nd series of screeves is possible

11. See imperfect

It is the imperfect with preverbs that is used to express the perfective aspect:
xalʔən "he loved" → *la-xlaʔən* "he fell in love".

12. See present conjunctive

The 3rd series of screeves

Verbs of the third conjugational group are intransitive, therefore the inversion of the subject and object in the 3rd series seems to be an inconceivable innovation of Svan (cf. Geor. *v-dga(var)* "I am standing" – *v-mɔgar(var)* "I have been standing" but Svan *xu-g* – *m-igna* with the corresponding change of the subject cases*).

13. Perfect

LS _{sg.} – LO _{sg.,pl.}	LS _{pl.} – LO _{sg.,pl.}
m-i-g-n-a, -d, -x	nigna, gwigna, -d(, -x)
ʒigna, -d	ʒigna, -d, -x
x-o-gna, -d; lognad	xogna, -d, -x

14. Plu-perfect

mign-ān, -d, -x	nignān, gwignān, -d(, -x)
ʒignān, -d	ʒignān, -d, -x
xognān, -d; lognānd	xognān, -d, -x

15. Perfect conjunctive

mign-ēn, -s, -d, -x	nignēn, gwignēn, -s, -d, -x
ʒignēn, -s, -d	ʒignēn, -d, -x
xognēns, xognēnd, lognēnd	xognēn, -d, x

4.3.2.4. For the forms of the irregular verbs (with stem suppletion) *līre*, *liqde*, *liqed*, *ličed*, *lirde*, *līzi*, *liqer*, *liṭūli*, *likwīsg*, *liqle*, *liṭēsg* see our "Svan-English Dictionary".

4.4. Verbals in Svan are masdar and participles, as in all Kartvelian languages.

4.4.1. Unlike Georgian, the Svan masdar, as a rule, is not labile in respect to transitivity-intransitivity, and is always marked with the prefix *li-***. Masdars of the I conjugational group words may end in *-i* often signalling transitivity. Transitive masdars of the group II end in *-e* with the zero degree of the preceding stem vocalism *i*, meanwhile intransitive masdars have a zero ending and the full degree of the preceding stem vocalism *e*. Several static verbs (sentiendi) have a specific masdar form coinciding (sometimes with the exception of umlaut in a verbal stem) with the 1st singular form, e. g. *masisg* "hatred, hating" = *m-a-sisg* "I hate"***.

*Even the description of such perfects by means of preverbs is difficult, e. g. *migna* "for me is the standing" (?).

**Kartvelian–Semitic isogloss – cf. the junction of the Semitic preposition *li-* with the Hebrew masdar.

***Umlaut is impossible in this stem, though cf. *malaṭ* "love, loving" and *malūṭ* < *malaṭi* (?) "I love". Nevertheless the origin of such masdars from the fossilized 1 sg. form (*I hate* → *I do not like his 'I hate'*) is not ruled out.

There is no infinitive in Kartvelian. The nearest approximation to it is *masdar* in the transitive case in O. Georgian. In Svan it corresponds to the *la-* deverbals in the same case (*li-gem*, *masdar*, → *lā-gām-d* "for building", "to build").

4.4.2. Strictly speaking, there are no participles in Kartvelian, only various verbal nouns. It can be seen already from the absence of syntactical participle constructions.

Traditionally participles are defined according to voice on the one hand and to tense on the other, because participles derived from present stems are deprived of the tense meaning, cf. Svan *mə-mār-e* "preparing (now)" and "who has prepared". Past participles, on the contrary, may be deprived of the voice meaning, cf. Svan *našdabw* "done" and "who has done (worked)". When derived from the intransitive verbs (sometimes even from the passive form), they have an active meaning (Svan *meqde* "come"), and a passive meaning when derived from the transitive verbs (Svan *læge*, "built", cf. the same in English). Nevertheless, the voice oppositions may be neutralized if the same stem occurs in the active as well as in the medium/passive (Svan. *lidgāri* "dying", "killing" → *lædgār* "died", "killed" = intransitive "dead"). Future participles always have a passive meaning, as the Latin gerundivum, e. g. *legem* "aedificanda (domus)".

At the same time, in respect to their derivation, participles are formed with homonymous prefixes of the opposite meaning (cf. *mə-*) or with prefixes common to other verbal derivatives and according to the same models as the verbal nouns. Thus V. T o p u r i a (1967) ascribes to participles even such words as "bed" and "church" (places to lie and pray) or negative "participles" as *u-tx-ēl-a* "invisible".

Therefore we see no need to classify here unclassifiable "active (prefixes *mə-*, *me-*, *mo-*, *ma-**)", "future" (*le-*, *la-*), "past" (*mə-*, *me-e*, *na-*, *lə-*) "participles" — for all that we refer the reader to the section "Derivation" (5).

4.5. Since numerals are interesting from the point of reconstruction and since they belong more to lexics than to grammar, it is not necessary to enumerate them here (see our Dictionary). Their use is examined in Syntax (3.19) and certain aspects of their reconstruction — in Lexics (6.1).

Two systems of notation are in use: duodecimal ("Kartvelian") and decimal. The latter is common in Upper Svania and seems to be archaic. Duodecimal is typical of Lower Svan.

Tens are compound words, ones are joined by the conjunction *i* "and":

atās	i	čxar	āšir	i	wōštxw-ešd-i-wōštxw	zaw-ži
1000	and	9-100	and	4-10-and-4	year-on	
"in the year 1944".						

For the ordinals see "Derivation" (5).

All numerals are declinable.

4.6. Non-inflectional words are preverbs, nominal postpositions, other particles and adverbs (though cf. 3.16).

4.6.1. Verbs and verbals may be used with preverbs which signal or express the perfective aspect. The Svan preverbs are:

*The root *m* of the participle prefix is a common Kartvelian-Afro-Asiatic (Semitic) isogloss.

ad-||a- with indeterminate meaning;
 an-||a- with indeterminate meaning or the meaning of intravert direction;
 es- with the meaning of extravert direction or indeterminate;
 la- with indeterminate meaning.

4.6.2. The term "secondary preverbs" is sometimes used for preverbal compounds (4.6.3). This term is more suitable for verbal prepositions because the latter, although functioning as preverbs, are of later (adverbial) origin. They are:

sga arch. isga meaning inward direction;
 ži meaning upward direction;
 ka meaning outward direction;
 ču/čw(V) meaning downward direction.

Their vocalism is preserved only before a consonant (2.1.4).

The same particles are used as nominal postpositions thus showing their common (adverbial) nature. Such parallelism has not been preserved in Georgian and seems to be an archaism of Svan.

4.6.3. The nominal postpositions are:

-isga "in" (iness.), "among"	(-d "for", see 3.13)
-ži "on", "over", "above", "about"	(-d "till", see 3.12.5.1)
-ka "out", "through"	-aw "till" (mostly in adverbs)
...V-n-ka "besides", "except"	-te "in", "to" (illat.)
-ču "under"	-məq "at" (adess., allat.)
	-neš "from" (implicating "till")
	(...V-n)-yo "after"
	-šāl "like", "as if"
	-caxān "with", "by"
	-xān "from"

The compounds are (cf. 5):

-tejisga, -tēsga "into"
 -teka "up to" (excluding)
 -məqka "about" (adess.)
 -xānka "out of"
 -čika "in" (temporal)
 -čikd "up to" (excluding)

For the use of nominal postpositions see 3.13. While the dative ending -s does not appear before them, the GEN. -iš is fully represented. -yo is often preceded by a non-organic stem-ending -n which, while inserted before -ka, changes the meaning of the latter.

4.6.4. The other particles are negative and interrogative, -wāj, -le, -i with a special meaning, the quotative *eser*, *esnār*, -(ə)ž, and some others belonging mostly to lexics.

4.6.4.1. The negative particles in indicative are *de*, *dem*, *dēma*, *dēsa*, *māma*, *no*, and *deš*, *doš*, *no* of physical inability.

For polite negation (advice) in the imperative *nōmis* is used.

The particles of categorical negation in the imperative are **nom**, **nōma**, **nōsa**, **numa**.

The particles of modal negation are **mād**, **mōd(e)**.

For the use of the negative particles, cf. 3.8.2.

4.6.4.2. The interrogative particles are **-a**, **-ma**, **-mo**, **-esa***. Their use is examined in 3.8.1.

4.6.4.3. Other particles to be mentioned here are:

eser	marking quoted speech (3.6);
esnār	meaning that the performance of the resulted situation is unknown to the communicant;
-eš	meaning "the same", "just";
-wāj	used anaphorically with the pronoun in the relative clause;
-i/-j	meaning "too", "and";
-le	meaning "only";
rok	marking quoted speech (3.6);
-u/-w, -oγ	changing the meaning of the indicative form (which remains intact) into the conjunctive (3.9; 3.8.2.2);
-ž	marking quoted speech (3.6).

The example of a compound particle is

-wāle meaning "some" (**-wāj** + **-le**).

4.6.5. Adverbs are primary and secondary. The most popular model of the latter is the adjective in the transformative case as in Georgian, e. g. Svan *maxe* "new" —> *maxe-d* "newly". Some adverbs seem to be compounds of the nominal postpositions with various particles. These are of the same four roots as the secondary preverbs:

sgāšura "inwards"

kāmaw, kām "outside"

žin, žib "upwards"

čubaw, čukwān "downwards"

The complicated primary adverbs **/i/sgā*, **kā*, **žī*, **ču* are apparent here**.

Adverbs in their turn may include postpositions: **kām-te** "outwards", **kām-xān** "from outside" (cp. 3.16).

*Negative particles of the bare stem *mā*, *mō* also are attested, though in Lashkh. If *mōde*, *dēma* have been dissimilated from **mōnē*, **nēmā* (and *dēsa* < **nēsā* according to *dēma*), it would be able to reconstruct in Kartvelian the negative particles **nē*, **nō*, the interrogative **ā*, the negative-interrogative-indefinite **mā* (cf. also pron. *mā-j* "what"), common to Indo-European and (**ā*, **mā*) Semitic.

**This elucidates the free position of the secondary preverbs in a sentence (3.10.1) as a reflection of the use of those primary adverbs from which the secondary preverbs have originated. The change of the adverbs into preverbs on that historical level was a result of the increasing role of the primary preverbs (cf. *ad-*, *an-*, *es-*, *la-*) in expressing the perfective aspect. The four adverbs began to substitute for the four primary preverbs in the imperfective screeves (present, imperfect, present conjunctive, future, conditional) where the use of the primary preverbs became impossible. Typologically the same is in Baltic, cf. Latvian *vēlms aiz-bēga* (a preverb with the perfective aspect) *no Anša* "devil ran away from Ansis" vs. *vēlms bēg* (the imperfective aspect without a preverb) *no Anša projām* (adverb) "devil runs from Ansis", av. *projām* = pv. *aiz-*.

DERIVATION

5. The main ways of derivation in Svan are affixation, ablaut, compounding and reduplication.

5.1. The most popular affixes are:

- āj (see under -j);
- āl||-āl for iteratives: *li-djār-āl* "feeding";
for verbal nouns meaning a temporal period: *li-ṭx-āl* "time of returning";
- ālw, L. B. -al-d||āl-d for the verbal nouns of termination:
li-ṭx-ālw "until returning";
- ār for attributive nouns of possession of a feature expressed in the basic noun (*ma*-abstract): *māj-d-ār* "hungry";
- āra for the approximative degree of comparison when not comparing colours (4.2.6);
- d transformative-case inflection used to form adverbs from adjectives (4.6.5);
- ēl for the comparative degree of *xoča* "good" (*xočēl*), *xola* "bad" (*xodrēl*), *xoša* "big", *xoxwra* "small" (4.2.6);
- ēla||-ēra,
-ijēl||-ijēra for diminutives and duratives-iteratives: *Bimərzela* "small Bimurza", *li-ṭx-ijēl* "answering";
- ijēl||-ijēr for verbal nouns meaning temporal period:
li-qn-ijēl "time of ploughing";
- il(a), -il-d(a) for diminutives: *dālil(a)||dālild* "a small dali (myth.)";
- (a of bare-stem abstracts +)j for nouns specifying persons according to their features:
zoblā-j "eater";
- la-a for the (collective) plural of kinship words (4.2.2.2);
- la-(a) for verbal nouns meaning a place of destination, a vessel or an instrument: *la-sgwr-a* "bench";
- le- for verbal nouns of goal or destination: *le-zweb* "smth. to be eaten" = "food";
- li- for masdars: *li-zweb* "eating", "to eat";
- lə-, mə- (with aorist stems) for verbal nouns of a resulted (inertive) state:
ləge "built", *lədgār* "dead";

ma-	for abstract nouns and masdars from static verbs: <i>ma-laṭ</i> "love"
	side by side with the masdar <i>li-lāṭ</i> "loving", "to love";
ma-	for agent nouns from medial verbs: <i>ma-ṣed</i> "leader";
ma--(ēn)e	for the superlative degree of comparison: <i>mā-mṣx-e</i> "the blackest", <i>ma-hwr-ēne</i> "the smallest", <i>ma-ṣ-ēne</i> "the biggest";
me-	for agent nouns from intransitive verbs: <i>me-qed</i> "comer", <i>me-zelāl</i> "goer", <i>me-laṭ</i> "lover";
me--e	for verbal nouns with an active resultative meaning from the intransitive verbs of the group II: <i>me-ṭx-e</i> "who has returned", <i>me-qd-e</i> "who has come";
mē--e	for ordinal numbers: <i>mē-sm-e</i> "the third";
mo-, me-	for agent nouns from intransitive verbs: <i>mo-laṭ</i> "lover";
mə-	(see under lə-: <i>mə-žir</i> "wetted");
mə-	for agent nouns from transitive verbs: <i>mə-māre</i> "preparer";
mə-	for nouns and adjectives indicating nationality: <i>mə-zān</i> "Megrel", <i>mu-ṣwān</i> (2.3.2) "Svan";
mə-, mə--a	for the approximative degree in comparing colours (4.2.6);
na-	for resultative nouns: <i>na-gām-w</i> "smth. (place, remnants) of what has been built", <i>na-xṭaw</i> "painting (picture)" (i. e. "smth. remained after painting");
na--i	for abstract nouns: <i>na-ṣwdi</i> "length";
na--un	for the verbal nouns of material: <i>nā-gm-un</i> "building material";
na-wīrw, L. B.	
na-(w)er, -(w)ier	for the verbal nouns of the destination of action: <i>nā-qd-wīrw</i> "smth. for coming";
-ob	Georgian loan-suffix for the abstracts: <i>dagr-ob</i> "mortality";
-ōl	for diminutives: <i>dīn-ōl</i> "a small girl";
-ra	for the collective names of plants: <i>icx-ra</i> "pears" (<i>icx</i> "one pear"), <i>had-ra</i> "azalea shrub";
u--a	for negative deverbals (nouns or adjectives): <i>u-txēl-a</i> "invisible";
-ūl(d)	for diminutives: <i>xijad-ul</i> "a small joy" = "dear";
-əl[d(a)]	for diminutives: <i>çqint-elda</i> "a small boy";
xo--a	for the comparative degree of comparison: <i>xo-mx-a</i> "never"

5.2. A good example of the quantitative ablaut in derivation is *berg* "hoe" → *li-bērg-e* "to hoe".

5.3. Compounding is common in Kartvelian as well as in the Caucasian languages. Similarly to Georgian, Svan uses adjunctive and coordinative compounding:

maxeγwāṣ "young (brave) man" (*maxe* "new", *γwāṣ* "males");

kwinlāmgene "animal" (*kwin* "soul", *lāmgene* "stood", i. e. "standed at", "adjoined" — cp. Latin *animal*); *dīnagezal* "daughter" (*dīna* "girl", *gezal* "child"); *xexw-čāṣ* "spouses", "wife and husband"; *lezweb-letre* "food and drink", etc.

Compounding takes place on the other levels of the language structure, too, cf. in preverbs:

ži + an-, ad-, es-, la-;

čv + an-, ad-, es-, la-;

sga + an-, ad-, es-, la-;

ka + an-, ad-, es-, la-, e. g.

a-x-γwa "he carries" + *sga* →

sg^hāxγwa "he carries in", or

es-γwa "he carries" + *sga* →

sg^hēsγwa "he carries in" (for elision, see 2.1.4).

Compound postpositions (*-te-isga*, etc.) are examined in 4.6.3.

5.4. For reduplication, cf.

mērme-mērme "various" ("other-other");

zwir-zwir "seldom";

kāw-kāw "equivocal".

LEXICS

6.1. Svan shares the same fortune with the other Kartvelian languages: loan-words make the bulk of its lexical stock. In all Kartvelian languages various layers of borrowing may be ascertained: 1 – the prehistorical Near- and Middle-Eastern; 2 – the prehistorical Mediterranean; 3 – the historical Byzantine; 4 – the medieval Persian, Arabic and Turkish; 5 – the newest Slavic. During all these periods close contacts with the North-Caucasian languages have taken place as well as mutual borrowing as a result. Borrowing from Armenian seems to have taken place since the appearance of Armenian. While endeavouring to single out the basic Kartvelian word-stock, the investigator comes to the paradoxical conclusion that many roots assigned to the most archaic prehistorical epoch, show an enigmatical likeness to Indo-European roots. Nevertheless we are inclined to deny the Borealic ("Nostratic") character of this phenomenon because of the striking isomorphism between Kartvelian and Indo-European in phonology, root-structure, morphology and syntax reconstructed (Gamkrelidze–Machavariani, 1965, 1982; Gamkrelidze–Ivanov, 1984; Schmidt, 1965, 1969, 1979; Melikishvili, 1977, 1979, 1980₂, etc.). Thus Kartvelian seems to be younger than the hypothetical Borealic epoch. It may be considered the same Middle-Eastern product as pre-Anatolian Indo-European, i. e. as the other possible version of Indo-European. In this respect it would be interesting to distinguish roots, which are materially identical with Indo-European (and thus borrowing cannot be traced), and roots, which show deviations from the three-serial correspondences of stops and fricatives (Gamkrelidze–Ivanov, 1984) and thus may be treated as loans. E. g. the root for "earth" is *gəm* in Svan and *tiqa* in Georgian. The latter corresponds to Nesite *tekan*, Tokharian *tkam*, Greek metathesial *khthōn* from IE. **dheghom*. Nevertheless it must be regarded as loaned because of its voiceless *t*- which is expected to correspond to IE. **t(h)* (traditionally *t*) in accordance with the law of Gamkrelidze–Ivanov, but not to **d(h)*. On the other hand, Svan *gəm* cannot be so easily claimed to be a loan because of its *g*- well corresponding to IE. **g(h)* (traditionally **gh*) in the "Baltic" IE. **ghem*-. At the same time both roots demonstrate prehistorical Kartvelian–Indo-European contacts, and there are no means of defining more precisely the chronological priority of *gəm*.

6.2. In the preceding analysis we have mentioned more Kartvelian–Indo-European isoglosses. We have no aim to present an exhaustive list of these isoglosses here. It would do well to mention that almost all Kartvelian–Indo-European parallels

(hypothetical borrowings or not), including the identity of the perfect with *modus relativus*, are represented in historical Baltic. The latest theory of W. S c h m i d (1978), according to which Baltic must be placed in the centre of the model of division of the Indo-European linguistic community, and the theory of V. T o p o r o v (1981), according to which Baltic is identical with Indo-European as its very type in time and space, enable us to reinterpret the Kartvelo-Indo-European problem as a Kartvelo-Baltic problem. Thus "Baltic" is understood in a broad sense as a reconstruction of Common Indo-European which appears to be identical with reconstructed Common Baltic, i. e. as "Baltic Indo-European". The historical limits of its continuity (in respect to the languages attested) may be set only "from above", i. e. by the 5th c. B. C. when the Baltic IE. "Centre" (i. e. its fragment, further conserved as peripheral Indo-European) had finally split into peripheral-western and central-eastern areas. It was the 5th-the 4th c. B. C. when Slavic separated from the "Centre", though it was no more the former integral centre but its peripheral-western area. Germanic and Aryan were the last to separate from the integral centre in the 3rd-the 2nd millenia B. C. At the end of the 3rd millennium B. C. Baltic appeared at the Baltic Sea while at the beginning of the 2nd millennium B. C. the split of Common Kartvelian took place. Thus the 1st half of the 3rd millennium B. C. seems to be the period of the possible passage of the Centre via the Caucasus from the South northwards and the period of the formation of Kartvelian. The total of the facts cannot deny the possibility of Kartvelian being one of the most ancient branches of Indo-European ("Baltic"), or: a branch of the forming variants of Indo-European, which underwent the same caucasization as Armenian in the subsequent and Ossetic in the newest times (cp. the Introduction of G. T s e r e t e l i to G a m k r e l i d z e-M a c h a v a r i a n i, 1965, 1982).

The very formation of the Kartvelian phenomenon demands special study. We should like to use the term genetic-contactive development, meaning the convergent origin of what may be called the prehistorical Caucasian variant of "Baltic Indo-European" and of what may be called "pure" "Baltic Indo-European". We see that the number of Kartvelian-Semitic isoglosses (similarly to Kartvelian-(North-)Caucasian ones) does not surpass the usual "nostratic" level, so that one may presume the existence of another kind of relations between affinity and non-affinity and between the familial and inter-familial (Borealic or "Nostratic") relationship, i. e. the existence of the "Kartvelo-Indo-European" kind of the genetic-contactive affinity.

In order to verify Baltic-Kartvelian isoglosses and their reflection in Svan one must distinguish between borrowings of various epochs and a possible relationship. The etymological research of the Common-Kartvelian lexics is still at the initial stage (K l i m o v, 1964), not speaking about the absence of the historical dictionaries of Georgian, Megrel and Svan. Thus, a great deal of Svan lexis representing apparent borrowings and being identical with the corresponding Georgian idioms, one cannot judge by the form of these words whether they were really Georgian since neither the original Georgian character of many of them may be claimed with any certainty nor their borrowing via Georgian and not directly from neighbouring

languages is clear. Therefore we restrict ourselves here only to several samples of the well-known Kartvelian lexis in Svan.

6.3.1. Up to recently no criterion has existed for the distinction between the ancient Indo-European loans in Kartvelian and the hypothetically common lexical heritage. The reinterpretation by T h. G a m k r e l i d z e and V. I v a n o v of Indo-European tenues as voiceless (with optional aspiration), mediae as voiceless glottalized and mediae aspiratae as voiced (with optional aspiration) has provided us with such a criterion. The traditional system and the reinterpreted system of Indo-European stops (cf. G a m k r e l i d z e, 1977) may be compared with Kartvelian stops in the following scheme (in each column Kartvelian precedes reinterpreted and the latter – traditional Indo-European):

(p=) p'	p'	(b)	b	b(h)	bh	(p=) ph	p(h)	p
(t=) t'	t'	d	d	d(h)	dh	(t=) th	t(h)	t
(k=) k'	{ k' k'w	{ g g ^w	{ g g ^w	{ g(h) g ^w (h)	{ gh g ^w h	(k=) kh	{ k(h) k ^w (h)	{ k k ^w

Thus many known and often cited parallels (as Kartv. **gon-/gn-*, IE. **gen-/gnō-*, Kartv. **piv-*, IE. **pr(H)-/pro-*, etc.) cannot any longer be genetically compared and borrowing is to be established. In Svan it applies to such words as *mučwed* "breast" (IE. **kerd-*, Lith. *širdis* "heart"); *tebdi* < *tebedi* which together with Geor. *tpil-* is a striking parallel to Lat. *tepidus*, Sl. *toplъ* < IE. **tep-* "warm"; *daq-əl* "goat" (IE. **digh-*, Germ. *Ziege*); *tiš* "louse" (IE. **tel-/tġ(H)?*, Lith. *tilti* "to stop sounding", Russ. *tblēti* "to rot", *tbl'a* "rot" || *tl'a* "plant louse", etc.)*; *diwo* (side by side with *dīna*) "maiden" (Sl. *děva*), *kwecen* (if not a germanism) "wheat" (Gothic *hwaiteis*, Lith. *kvietyš*), *gurna* (if not Ossetic!) "round stone" (Lith. *gūrna* "millstone", Sl., Skr., etc.), etc. Some of these correspondences (cf. *mučwed*, *tebdi*, *daqəl* belonging to the Common-Kartvelian word-stock) point out very archaic contacts. Besides, the sporadic voicing of the primarily glottalized consonant is not excluded in Kartvelian itself, e. g. does the initial *d-* in Svan *daq-*, Geor. *txa* < **dqā* not come from *t-* already in Common Kartvelian as e. g. the final *-d* in Geor. pl. *sxed-* from *-t*? Then the latter may be identified with IE. **sed(H)-* "to sit" with a "laryngeal". We are tempted to conjecture such voicing in the Kartvelian word for *c u c k o o*, i. e. *g* < **k*: Svan U. B. *gego*, L. B. *gāgo* just in the same way corresponding to dialectal Lith. *gegū* as dialectal Georgian (Khevsurian, Tushin, Mokhebian) *guguṭa* corresponds to literary Lith. *gegūtė*. For all this the prototype **kēka* may be assumed (whether onomatopoetic or not) for Kartvelo-"Baltic". While Geor. *čurbela* = Lith. *siurbėlė* "leech" (A. S h a n i d z e's collation) or Geor. *dideba* "glory" = Lith. *didybė* "majesty" (here the Kartvelian suffix *-eba* well corresponds

*We reject the reconstruction **tiz₁-* for "louse", **asuz₁-* for "daughter" (borrowed from Urartian *səla?* Hurritian *šala*), *c₁oz₁-* for "wife". Z. S a r d j v e l a d z e (1980) compares Geor. *maṭl-* "worm" with *ṭloba* "to spoil" and further with Russ. *tl'a*, Czech *tliti*, etc. L. P a l m a i t i s came independently to a similar conclusion in 1976 though comparing *maṭl-* with Geor. *ṭil-* (=Svan *tiš*) and the latter with Russ. *tl'a* (cf. English and Lith. "louse" – Latv. "louse", "plant louse").

to Baltic **bhyā!*) demonstrate the same curiosity, two evident Kartvelian-Baltic coincidences are of special interest. These are Geor. *did-* "big", possibly related to Svan *ɣɣəd* "big", and Svan *īra* "erit" equal to East-Baltic *didj-* "great", *īra* "est", "sunt".

6.3.2. The comparison of Geor. *did-* with Svan *ɣɣəd* decides the question about the Common-Kartvelian character of *did-*. No law of Svan palatalization **d̃ > ɣ* is known to us yet, therefore the following much more hypothetical comparison cannot be a grounding. Nevertheless it seems important to compare Kartv. **ɟ₁* with IE. **dh-* according to the hypothetical development "to suck(le)" → "son", "leech" and "milk" → "woman's breast", "female", "cow", namely Geor. *ɟe* "son" and Slav. *děte* "child", Latv. *dēls* "son", Lith.-Latv. *dēle* "leech" (< IE. **dhē-*); Geor. *s-ɟe*, Svan *la-ɟe* "milk", i. e. "suckling drink"; Geor. *ɟuɟu* "woman's breast", Geor. *ɟu*, Svan. *ɟuwa* "female" and Skr. *dhenā* "cow" (< IE. **dhey-* // **dhē-*). If the comparison is correct, one of the sources for Kartv. **ɟ₁* seems to be **d(h)* obviously palatalized (i. e. **d̃*). Then the relic reflection of the similar kind of palatalization in Svan is to be seen in Kartvelian reduplicated **di-di* (the final *-i* later reinterpreted as a nominative inflection in Georgian) > Svan **d̃d̃i > *ɟjd-i > *ɟjəd > ɣɣəd*.

Geor. *did-* seems to be related to Geor. *diax* "yes" < *diay* = **dia* + PTC. *-ya* (cf. *diaya-c* "surely yes"). If the latter comes from an oath-word, such as Arabic *bi-llāh* = English *by God!*, then one may treat **did-* as the reduplication of **di(a)-* (i. e. **didi* with the subsequent reinterpretation of the final *-i* as of the inflection *-i*) of the common meaning "great", "majesty" and see here the borrowing of the archaic Indo-European religious term, namely of the well-known IE. **dy-/d̃ey-* "light", "sky" → "God". Thus the reduplication for expressing magnificence becomes clear. The immediate evidence of such etymology is the fact that Lith. *didis*, Latv. *dižs* mean not "big", but "great", "majestic", while in the meaning of "big" Lithuanian uses the *-elja* derivative *didelis* though Latvian has a quite different word for it: *liēls*. Lith.-Latv. *dai-na* "folk-song" < **ritual hymn (with dancing)!* – cf. U r b u t i s, 1972) and Avestan *daē-nā* "religion" < **majestic rituals* are indubitable *n*-derivatives of the same root which have religious meaning and are directly parallel to Lat. *dī-v-īnus* "divine" (e. g. majestic ritual hymn or dance).

6.3.3.1. The word *īra*, on the contrary, seems to have been borrowed from Kartvelian by "Baltic Indo-European". The acute accent in Lith. *yrà* shows the nominal origin of this word from **īrā* while the nominal origin of all (not athematic) 3rd-person forms in Baltic is easy to prove. While they are not marked either in respect to person or to number, such archaic expressions as *nērà kadà dīrba* (the 3rd person instead of the infinitive *dīrbti*) "there is no working (time)" = "no time for work" = "to work", or *nērà kas dāro* (the 3rd person instead of the infinitive *daryti*) "there is no doing" = "to do", show the prehistorical nominal equivalence of the unmarked forms of the 3rd person. This equivalence is apparent in the *ā*-stem nouns demonstrating the historical identity with the 3rd-person forms of the same stem, e. g. *klaūsō* "they(he) listen(s)" < **klāūsā* vrs. *klausā* "ear", "hearing" < **klāūsā*. Both reconstructions, however, come from Balt. **klāūsā* because of the secondary character of the

circumflex tone in the ancient long syllables. Such nominal forms in the verbal system seem to be nothing else but a direct reflection of the archaic Indo-European masdar of the preinfinitive epoch. Its thematized form well corresponds to the most primitive type of the Georgian masdar as *cvla* "change", *čera* "writing", *čama* "eating" etc. The personal forms in Indo-European have developed on the basis of this masdar by adding to it the inervite- (verbs of the static series) or the fientive- (verbs of the fientive series) case pronominal forms.

Since the paradigmatical future is an innovation in Kartvelian as well as in Indo-European, one may relate the East-Baltic "masdar" praes. *īra* to the Svan FT. *īra*, treating *ī* in the latter as an intravertizer regularly used to form the future of medial verbs in Kartvelian (cf. 4.3.2.2.2.4). Thus one of the most archaic relics of the Balto-Kartvelian epoch seems to be found in Baltic side by side with the correspondence Balt. **didj-* — Kartv. **didi*. This reminds us of R. Gauthiot's conjecture connecting Lith. *yrā*, Latv. *ir* < Balt. **īrā* with O. Armenian *ir* < **īrā* "matter" which thus must belong to the same Balto-Kartvelian stock. The transparent semantical parallel to Arm. *ir* is a Lithuanian and Latvian expression Lith. *kas yr(a)?* Latv. *kas ir?* "What is the matter?"

The length of the initial *ī* in Svan and the corresponding length in Baltic as a reflection of the origin of the length remains the last question to be solved. Here we have to do with further reconstruction of Svan *īra* < Kartv. **Hīra* and with the origin of the Kartvelian versionizers.

6.3.3.2. The "laryngeal" formants *h-*, *x-* < (conventionally) **H-* before the intravertizer *i-* are attested in O. Georgian haemet (e. g. *h-i-go* "was", *h-i-kmna* "became") and khanmet (*x-i-go*, *x-i-kmna*) texts and it is a mystery why these formants, identified with the indicator of the 3rd indirect person, have found themselves beside the intravertizer *i-*, which is intelligible only in monovalent forms without any indirect object!

As M. Machavariani in her personal letter of 18.03.1982 has mentioned, the Kartvelian versionizers have been generalized from the case-inflexions of pronominal forms. The pronominal dative forms in *-i* coalesced with the corresponding verbal forms at the same time as the non-dative forms in *-a* did, i. e. the 1st pers. non-DAT. **ma* "I", "me", DAT. (**mai* >) **mī* "to me" or the 3rd pers. non-DAT. **Ha* "that", DAT. (**Hai* >) **Hī* "to that". After the coalescence of pronouns with verbal stems the case-meanings of the pronominal forms became perceived as the grammatical meanings of the verbal forms, the corresponding vocalism being reinterpreted as versionizer (e. g. "I", "me" vrs. "to me", etc.). Then the pronominal roots received the meaning of the personal formants (cf. **m-*, **H-*).

Verbs with the intravert personal formants may be agentive as well as patientive in Kartvelian and may have non-dative as well as dative meaning: **m(-a, -ī)*, **g(-a, -ī)*, **H(-a, -ī)*. Verbs with the extravert personal formants are agentive only, the dative indicator being impossible in them: the 1st pers. **Hw(a)-*, the 2nd pers. **H(a)-* (sporadically without *(a)* after its abstraction according to the intravert personal formants). It means that only the extravert orientation was formerly expressed by

the extravert personal formants. Since after the generalization of the pronominal roots as personal formants the segment **ī* preserved its dative meaning, a possibility arose to use this **ī* for intravert orientation and as a substitute for (a) in the extravert series of personal formants: **Hw(a)-* → **Hwī-* and **H(a)-* → **Hī-*. This intraversionization meant the situation turning back to the communicant, i. e. it meant a reflexivization: "for myself", "for himself". Since the paradigm of the 3rd person follows that of the communicant persons, the bare **ī* remained to be used for the 3rd person and thus the syntagmatical opposition **Hī-* "for him" vrs. **ī-* "for himself" was to appear. Such opposition, however, in which the second member would have contained the bare (without root!) part of the former pronoun, had no precedent in the other (the 1st and the 2nd) persons. Therefore: 1) **Hī-* got the both meanings, i. e. "for him" and "for himself"; 2) little by little the meaning "for him" began to be expressed by the newer pattern which had already appeared purely phonetically. At first the 1st pers. **Hw-* changed to **Hu-* before consonants (**HwC-* → **HuC-*) and then the bare **H-* became associated with **H(ī)-* of the 3rd person, the meaning "I for him" being consequently broadened including "he for him", i. e. **Hu-* = "for him" in general. Up to now no distinction is made between "I for him" and "he for him", cf. Svan *xo-* and (O.) Geor. *u-* (the 1st pers. Geor. *vu-* is a pure orthographical conventionality not corresponding to the pronunciation, nor to the O. Georgian orthography). In this way the extravertizer **u-* has come into being in the 3rd person, the single person where it is possible and where it is synonymous to the formant **H-*, cp. Geor. *h-* > *s-* in *(mo-)s-dis* = *(mo-)/(*h-)u-dis* "it happens to him". As for the intravert **Hī-*, its **H-* became unmotivated and vanished leaving traces in the O. Georgian haemet and khanmet texts.

6.3.3.3. Svan *īra* "erit" < **Hīra* has preserved the archaic length of *ī*. In all the other instances in Kartvelian the shortness of *u* was generalized on *i* since the length of the latter appeared beyond the semantical oppositions of length and the quality of the versionizers was sufficient to be opposed.

**Hīra* having developed into a personal future form in Svan, in Baltic (IE. Centre) and Armenian it has been inherited from Balto-Kartvelian as an *ā*-stem masdar. As well as all other Indo-European masdars in Baltic, it has entered the conjugational system similarly to Svan though with the meaning of present, not future.

6.3.4. **Hīra* (because of the Kartvelian versionizer) and **didi* (because of its obstruents) bearing witness to the primeval convergent contacts, a certain number of words cannot be defined easily as borrowings or common heritage because of the absence of obstruents in them. Thus Svan *sgej* "son" of the Common-Kartvelian root "to bear, be born" (Geor. *šv-il-*, Laz *sk-ir-* "child", i. e. "one born") is apparently identical with IE. **seu(H)-* "to bear" (Balt., Gothic, Aryan *sūnus* "son", etc.); Svan *zix* (Geor. *sisxl-*, Megr. *zixxir-*) "blood" is identical with the heteroclite IE. **HesHr-* "blood" (Latv. *asins*).

On the other hand, Svan *gəm* "earth" (see 6.1), *li-dē-sgi* "to put", *li-l̥š-eni* "to fasten", "to plant" demonstrate precise correspondences to Indo-European obstruents: *li-dē-sgi* (Geor. *de-* but Megr. *dv-*) is equal to IE. **dheH-* "to put" (Lith. *dėti* "to put", etc.);

li-lʒ-eni (with Svan "satemization"! — see fn. to 2.2.3 and cp. Geor. *da-lag-eba* "to put in order", *da-rg-va*, Megr. *rg-uapa* "to plant") is equal to IE. **legh-* (Sl. *ležiti* "lies", *ložiti* "puts", Germ. *liegen*, *legen*, etc. Cf. also the lengthened root in Pr. *līse* [līze], Sl. *lězeti* "crawls", etc.).

The common origin of the numerals "four" (IE. "eight") and "six" is obvious: Svan *w-oštx(w)* < **ošdx* < **oŋx(i)* < Kartv. **otx-* metathesially equals to IE. **ok-tō* (Lith. *aš-tuo-ni*, etc.);

Svan *usgwa* < Kartv. **eks₁w* is equal to reduplicated (?) IE. **weks*.

6.3.5. The root for "seven" (in all probability from North-Semitic fem. for masc. **šib-ut-* > Akkadian *sebet*) seems a borrowing as it is clear from the obstruents Kartv. *-d*, *-t* ≠ IE. *-t*, *-d*:

Svan *išgwid* < Kartv. **šwid-* vs. IE. **sept-m*.

Several Svan words represent later, though still archaic, borrowings. Some parallels with Armenian are of the greatest interest. Svan *čarni* "red" with the apparently reduced middle-syllable vowel between *r* and *n* with no doubt is Arm. *čirani* "red" (cf. the identical Lentekh *čarāni* and U. Svan *məčrana* "reddish" with *-a*). Svan *i* "and", "also", formally coinciding with Sl. *i* < **ei*, seems to be connected with Arm. *ew* "and", "also" < IE. **epi* already because of the same meaning [unlike the two separate words for "and" and "also" in Georgian: *da* (cf. Slavic) and *-ca* (cf. Sl. *že*, Baltic *-ga*, Skr. *ha*, etc.)]. The Svan quotative particle *eser* in all probability is Arm. IF. *asēr* "he, she uttered". In spite of the Georgian SF. *-ian*, Svan family names in *-(j)ān* curiously remind of Armenian family names in *-jan*. All this points to the southern origin of Svan and Svans and to their direct contacts with Armenians. There are more data about the subsequent migration of Svans to present Svania in the North via the Black-Sea lowland through present Megrelia (cf. the Svan for "sea" *zuywa*).

There is a vast layer of North-Caucasian lexis in Svan of the archaic as well as (mostly) of Moslem times. Side by side with the mediation of Georgian, it was the main way by which Arabic and Turkish words have penetrated into Svan, Georgian being also the main source of Greek and Persian lexis. The expression *sčārwin tri* "he takes the matrimony sacrament", points to direct borrowing from ecclesiastical Greek (Georgians use *švaris čera*).

Georgian words are flooding Svan especially under the modern conditions of universal bilingualism and partial trilingualism.

We have not mentioned the well-known Kartvelian–Indo-European parallelism in pronominal roots which belongs to the "nostratic" level, i. e. much earlier (ca. the 9th millenium B. C.) than Kartvelo–Indo-European.

7. CONCLUSIONS

Grammatical and lexical data of Svan support the idea of the primitive Kartvelo–Indo-European closeness, exactly — of the Kartvelo–Baltic closeness as it is understood here. It seems significant that, while the identical goblin plots spread from the Caucasus up to Northern Europe, the very word for goblin in Baltic is *kaukas*, related to Got. *hauhs* "high" from which the Greek name of the mountain-range *Kaúkasos* originates. And it is the mythologically personified mount with which Balt. *kaukas* is related (Топоров, 1980).

TEXTS

8.0. Script and transcription

All Svan texts (including even those composed by the Authors) have been recorded in Georgian script and are transcribed here, as well as all Svan material in this book, according to the current kartvelological transcription accepted by the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR:

a - ა	e - ე	k - კ	p - პ	p - პ	z - ჯ	ə - ღ
ä - ა	ē - ე	l - ლ	ž - ჯ	k - კ	ç - ჟ	ē - ჯ
ā - ა	w - ვ	m - მ	r - რ	γ - გ	č - ჭ	
ä - ა	z - ზ	n - ნ	s - ს	q - ყ	x - ხ	
b - ბ	t - თ	j - ი	t - ტ	š - შ	q - ჟ	
g - გ	i - ი	o - ო	u - უ	č - ჩ	ž - ჯ	
d - დ	ī - ი	ō - ო	ū - უ	c - ც	h - ჰ	

The modern standard Georgian script has no capital letters, therefore we do not use them in transliteration from Georgian (cf. the Sources). But we do not feel obliged not to use them in transcribing Svan texts, and so we introduce these letters further in accordance with the European tradition.

By the morphemical division only morphemes with the grammatical (morpho-syntactical) meaning are shown, the derivational elements are not distinguished (prefixes in verbals, suffixes of iterativity, etc.). Plusses + indicate more (entirely) or less (apparently distinguished though changed) phonetically fused morphemes.

The indirect-object prefix x- of the 3rd person is morphemically "translated" as singular "him", "to it", "on it", or plural "them" according to the context in nominative or in ergative sentences, while in dative sentences it is "translated" as singular, only.

The ending of the 3rd person plural -x is marked PL in dative sentences thus showing the plural of the logical subject, translated by the singular "him", "to it" of the prefix x-, there.

The neutral versionizer a, leaving no traces in the aorist (11-12) forms, is pointed out in the analysis if it has been preceded by the personal prefix x-, as in 11. *axkwicx* < **a-x-a*, or, sometimes, if it is represented in the corresponding present (1-10) form, e. g. 1. *āspe* vrs. 11. *adsipe* (= **asipe* vrs. **adasipe*).



Mestia

As a rule, the version is shown semantically. not in accordance with its representation by versionizers, cf. -a-, -e- ExVS, or "VS", though this principle is not being kept consistently.

Baltists are recommended to pay attention to the last two folklore texts, one of which is supplied with literal Lithuanian translations instead of the morphemical division. All English translations are also literal, not literary.

8.1. Al lājri awtorālzi

Nāj, Čato Gužežjān d i Leṭad Palmajtiḍ, otjired¹ al lājir 1983 zawži. Mi, Čato Gužežjān, xwi lətnē² 1941 zawži, xwi mušwān Məlaxxān. Mizgra³ Tbilisi uniwersiṭeṭ ƙawƙasijologijā specijalobit⁴. Lušnwi gramatiƙa mitwra⁵ Warlam Topurijāš, Maksime Kāldānāš i Tinatin Šarazenizē lājralšw. Matwerda al sagāns⁶ Zurab Čumburiže. Atxe xwašdba⁷ Šwānjā muzewumisga. Mi, Leṭa Palmajti⁸, xwi lətnē 1944 zawži, xwi liṭwel. Mizgra Leningradi uniwersiṭeṭ semiṭologijā specijalobit. 1975 zawži Wilnwis oṭzəgir baltistīƙā aspiranṭura i atxe xwi baltist. Mājinteres⁹ nənre¹⁰ ṭipologija i amyā 1976–1980 zājārisga xwešdabdās Sakartwelos¹¹ kartwelur i indojewropul¹² nənre mimartebaži¹³. Swanologijas matwerdax Maksime Kāldān i Zurab Čumburiže. Lāmmaržwe¹⁴ čube mušwānd Aleksandre Wonjānd, xedwājcaxān xwāj lušnu ƙeṭsṭ oṭčodān¹⁵. 1977 zawži xwardās¹⁶ Mestjas i Čato Gužežjānā xelmžywanelobit xwitordās lušnus. Ečkas oxwqwabed¹⁷ lušnwi leksiƙaj. Maqwāms xwaṭūli¹⁸ aṣaƣ Cijala Čartolāns i Dāwit Čeredjāns, ečjār lagərgāl¹⁹ lušnus matwerdax.

al	lājri	awtor-āl-zi.	nāj,	čato-d	gužežjān-d
this" NOM"	book-GEN	author-PL-on	we	Chato-ERG	Gudjedjyan-ERG
i	leṭa-d	palmajti-d ⁸ ,	ot-jir-e ¹ -d		al
and	Leta-ERG	Palmaiti-ERG	11:PV+1.ExVS-write-AOR-PL	this	
lājir	atās	i	čxarāšir	i	arāšd-i-sam
bookABS/NOM	1000	and	900	and	80-and-3.DAT
čato	gužežjān,	xw-i	lətnē ²	atās	i
Chato	GudjedjyanNOM	1:1.ExVS-THEME	born	1000	and
wōštxwešd-i-ašxw	zaw-ži,	xwi	mušwān	məlax-xān.	
4+10-and-1.DAT	yearDAT-on	l:am	Svan	Mulakh-from	
m-i-zgr-a ³		tbilis-i	uniwersiṭeṭ		
13: 1.IVS-"IVS"-finish-rsl	Tbilisi-GEN	universityNOM			
ƙawƙasijologijā	specijalob-it ⁴ .	lušn-w-i	gramatiƙa		
CaucasologyGEN	speciality-Geor.INST.	Svan-GEN	grammarNOM		
m-i-twr-a ⁵	warlam	topurijāš,	maksime	kāldān-āš	
13: 1.IVS-"IVS"-study-rsl	Varlam	TopuriaGEN	Maksime	Kaldan-GEN	
i	tinatin	šarazenizē	lājri-al-šw.	m-a-twer-da ⁵	
and	Tinatin	SharadzenidzeGEN	writing-PL-INST.	2:1.IVS-NVS-study-IF	
al	sagān-s ⁶	zurab	čumburiže.	atxe	xw-a-šdb-a ⁷
this	subject-DAT	Zurab	ChumburidzeNOM	now	1:1.ExVS-NVS-work-THEME
šwānjā	muzewum-isga.	mi,	leṭa	palmajti ⁸ ,	xwi
SvaniaGEN	museumDAT-in	I	Leta(s)	Palmaiti(s)NOM	am
			borne	1000	

i čxarāšir i wōštxwešd-i-wōštxw zaw-ži, xwi liṭwel.
 and 900 and 40-and-4 yearDAT-on am a Lithuanian
 m-i-zgr-a³ leningrad-i uniwersiteṭ
 13: 1. IVS-"NVS"-finish-rsl Leningrad-GEN universityNOM
 semiṭologijā specialobit⁴. atās i čxarāšir i išgwdāšd-i-woxwišd
 semitologyGEN specialityINST. 1000 and 900 and 70-and-5
 zaw-ži wilnwi-s⁸ ot-zəgir³ balṭiṭiṭā
 yearDAT-on Vilniu-LOC/DAT 11:PV+1.ExVS-finish baltisticaGEN
 aspiranṭura i atxe xwi balṭiṭ.
 post-graduate courseABS/NOM and now am baltistNOM
 m-ā+jinteres⁹ nən-r-e¹⁰ ṭipologija i amya
 1:1.IVS-NVS+interest language-PL-GEN typologyNOM and therefore
 atās i čxarāšir i išgwdāšd-i-usgwa atās i čxarāšir i arāšd
 1000 and 900 and 70-and-6 NOM 1000 and 900 and 80
 zāj-ār-isga xw-e-šdab-dā+s⁷ sakartwelo-s¹¹ kartwelur¹²
 year-PL-in 2:1.ExVS-VS-work-IF+1,2SG Georgia-LOC/DAT Kartvelian
 i indojewropul¹² nən-r-e mimarteba¹³.-ži. swanologija-s
 and Indo-European language-PL-GEN relation-on Svanology-DAT
 m-a-twer-da-x⁵ maksime kāldān i zurab čumburiṭe.
 2:1.IVS-NVS-study-IF-PL Maksime KaldanNOM and Zurab ChumburidzeNOM
 lā+m-marṭw-e¹⁴ aṣay čube mušwān-d aleksandre
 11:PV+1.IVS+IVS-help-AOR also Lower a Svan-ERG Aleksandre"NOM"
 wonjān-d, xedwāj-caxān xwāj lušnu ṭekṣṭ
 Onyan-ERG who-with many Svan textABS/NOM
 ot-čodān¹⁵. atās i čxarāšir i išgwdāšd-išgwid
 11:PV+1.ExVS-read 1000 and 900 and 70-and+7
 zaw-ži xw-a-rd-ā+s¹⁶ mestja-s i čato
 yearDAT-on 2:1.ExVS-NVS-exist-IF+1,2SG Mestya-LOC/DAT and Chato
 guṣeṣjān-ā xelmṣywanelobit⁴ xw-i-tor-dā+s⁵
 Gudjedjyan-GEN directionINST. 2:1.ExVS-IVS-study-IF+1,2SG
 lušnu-s. ečkas oxw-qwab-e-d¹⁷ lušnw-ī
 Svan-DAT then 11:PV+1.PL.EXC.ExVS-collect-AOR-PL Svan-GEN
 leksiṭa-j. maqwām-s xw-a-ṭūl-i¹⁸ aṣay cijala
 lexicsNOM-also thanks-DAT 1:1.ExVS-NVS-cry-THEME also Tsiala
 čartolān-s i dāwit čeredjān-s, eṣj-ār lagərgāl¹⁹
 Chartolan-DAT and Davit Tseredjyan-DAT they-PL.NOM spoken
 lušnu-s m-a-twer-da-x⁵.
 Svan-DAT 2:1.IVS-NVS-study-IF-PL

About the Authors of this Book

We, Chato Gudjedjyan and Letas Palmaitis, wrote this book in 1983. I am Chato Gudjedjyan, born in 1941, a Svan from Mulakh. I am a graduate of Tbilisi University where I specialized in Caucasian linguistics. I have learned Svan grammar from the

works of Varlam Topuria, Maksime Kaldan and Tinatin Sharadzenidze. It was Zurab Chumburidze who gave me lectures on this subject. Now I am working at the Svania Museum. I am Letas Palmaitis, born in 1944, a Lithuanian. I am a graduate of Leningrad University where I specialized in Semitic linguistics. In 1975, in Vilnius, I completed a post-graduate course in Baltic linguistics and now I am a baltist. As I am interested in language typology, in 1976–1980, in Georgia, I was working at Kartvelian–Indo-European linguistic relations. Maksime Kaldan and Zurab Chumburidze taught me svanology. I was assisted by Aleksandre Onyan, a Lower Svan, with whom I read various Svan texts. In 1977, while in Mestia, I studied Svan under the direction of Miss Chato Gudgedjan. At that time we also collected Svan lexis. I express my gratitude, also, to Mrs. Tsiala Chartolan and to Dawit Tseredyan who taught me spoken Svan.

8.2. Žibe Šwān

Žibe Šwān li Jenguri ĵār lekwa Ušgulneš i hēmoššāl šwārməq (Jengurī Ušguls ibni²¹ Šxāri kožārisga). Amiš i amī nēsga izgex¹⁷⁷ žibe šwanār, lušnud mægərgāli²². Usurmānxān²³ xoša kožār i wolār xočik²⁴ šwāns i ime-ime gar lix tanyār ečxānču lāzd²⁵. Al kožārs ƳawƳasijon xaxxax²⁶ zuƳwāš i zuƳwā pild. Šwānjā²⁷ soplār²⁸ laxwārisga i xoša ləjāl Ƴaljare Ƴarālisga lix i anƳa sgāwī²⁹ Rač-Lečxumte i Zānte³⁰ zagralka gar li lāz, mare zawladā³¹ mus dēmē zagārs xāz u xočēl lāz li.

Lušnu mōš nin li, luznuj mōš nin li i kartwil³², mare iwaləndīr šwanār i zanār i sgāwīšār ušxwāreš lāswx Sakartwelojisga, ešxu nacija lix i mērme-mērme dēmčiks ləmārx³³. Aljārs Ƴertālī arabara xančmən³⁴ mehad. Lixəlčip³⁵ ānbinōl, ečaneš xelčipī³⁵ ešxu xeqāndax³⁶ i, māj esama lijri-ličwdānis xexebōlnōl³⁷, ežāj ečī šən arda³⁸. ƳwerileƳws³⁹ dēsa xwīšdnex⁴⁰, ado imwāj nin amži dōsgneš meƳwlēla⁴¹, lādi nāj ušxwār deš xomqerid⁴², eče ešxu nacija Ƴwir-Ƴwir gar sid⁴³. Lādi nini mecnijērāi⁴⁴ Tbilisisgāj mērma kweqnārisgāj⁴⁵ ācxrex⁴⁶, māj nuƳwišd do lix nacādw⁴⁷ lušnuj luznuj kartwil mānƳwineš, ašxw nənzi gar jer igərgālnōlx²² mäg, ečaneš.

žibe	šwān	l-i	jengur-i	ĵār	lekwa	ušgul-neš
Upper Svania	NOM	1:3.ExVS-THEME	Engur-GEN	valley	down	Ushgul-from
i	hēmoš-šāl	šwār-məq	(jengur-ī	ušgul-s		
also	somehow-similar	DjvariDAT-at	EngurNOM-also	Ushgul-LOC/DAT		
i-bn-i ²¹	šxār-i	kož-ār-isga).	am+īš	i	am+ī	
1:IVS-begin-MD	Shkhar-GEN	rock-PL-in	this+GEN	also	this+GEN	
nēsga	i-zg-e-x ¹⁷⁷	žibe	šwan-ār,	lušnu-d		
between	1:IVS-dwell-THEME-PL	Upper	Svan-PL.NOM	Svan-TFM		
mægərgāli ²² ,	usurmān ²³	-xān xoša	kož-ār	i	wol-ār	
n.a.speaking	Moslem-from	big	rock-PL.NOM	also	glacier-PL.NOM	
x-o-čič ²⁴	šwān-s	i	ime-ime	gar	li-x	
1:from it-ExVS-hide	Svania-DAT	also	where-where	only	1:is-PL	
tanyār	ečxān-ču	lāz-d ²⁵ .	al	kož-ār-s		
pass-PL.NOM	from there-below	transitionish-TFM	This	rock-PL-DAT		

kaŋkasiŋon	x-a-žx-a-x ²⁶	3uɣwāš	i	3uɣwā
the Caucasus	NOM 1:to it-"NVS"-name-RSL-PL	sea	GEN also	sea
pil-d.	šwān-jā ²⁷	sopl-ār ²⁸	laxw-ār-isga	-j
shore-TFM	Svania-GEN	village-PL.NOM	Alpine meadow-PL-in	also
xoša	lāɣāl	čalj-ar-e	ɣar-āl-isga	li-x i
big	environment	NOM.AV	river-PL-GEN	valley-PL-in 1:is-PL also
amyā	sgāw ²⁹ -i	rač-lečxum-te	-j	zān ³⁰ -te
therefore	inside-also	Racha-Lečkhumi	DAT-to	also Megrelia-to
zagr-āl-ka	gar	li	lāz,	mare zawladāɣ ³¹
ridge-PL-DAT	only	is	transition	NOM but unsnowy period
mus	dēmē	zagār-s	x-āz	i xočēl
snow	NOM nowhere	GEN ridge-LOC/DAT	1:on it-"NVS"+put	also better
lāz	li.	lušnu	mōš	nin li, luznu-j
transition	NOM is	Svan	NOM separate	language
mōš	nin	li i	kartwil ³² -i,	mare iwalēndīr
separate	language	NOM is also.	Georgian-also	but for ages
šwan-ār	i	zan-ār	i	sgāwiš-ār ušxwār-eš
Svan-PL.NOM	also	Zan-PL.NOM	also	Georgian-PL.NOM one-another-GEN
l-ās-w-x		sakartwelo ¹¹ -j-isga,	ešxu	nacija li-x i
2:3.ExVS-NVS+be-PL	Georgia-GLIDE-in	one	nation	NOM is-PL also
mērme-mērme	dēmčiks	lēmār-x ³³ .	alj-ār-s	ɣert+āl-i arabara
other-other	never	8:been-PL	this-PL-DAT	god+PL-also identical
x-a-nčm-ən-x ³⁴			mehad. lixəlčip ³⁵	ān-bin-ōl ²¹ ,
2:him-"NVS"-believe-PRT.MD-PL			always	reign
eča-neš	xelčip-i ³⁵	ešxu	x-e-qān-da-x ³⁶	i māj
that-from	king	NOM-also one	NOM 2:him-"VS"-be-IF-PL	also REL
esama	lijri-ličwdāni-s		x-e-xeb-ōl-n-ōl ³⁷ ,	what
if some	writing-reading-DAT		6:to it-ExVS-concern-"PASS"-FT-COND	
ežā-j	eč+i	šən	a-rd-a ³⁸ .	
that-also	that+GEN	hand	LOC/DAT.AV	2:NVS-exist-IF
3wer-i-leɣw-s ³⁹	dēsa	xw-išdn-e-x ⁴⁰ ,		ado
flesh-also-meat-DAT	not	1:1.ExVS-IVS+forget-THEME-PL		otherwise
imwāj	nin	amži	dōsg-neš	meɣwlēl ⁴¹ -a, lādi
RELwhere	language	NOM thus	early-from	13:separated-DEM to-day
nāj	ušxwār		deš	
we(DAT)	one	another	NOM	not-by-any-means
xo-mqer-i-d ⁴² ,			eče	ešxu
1:1.ExVS+ExVS-understand-THEME-PL			there	one
gar	sid ⁴³	lādi	nin-i	nacija 3wir-3wir
only	1:is remaining	to-day	language-GEN	mecnijēr-āl ⁴⁴ seldom
tbilis-isgā+j	mērma		kwegn ⁴⁵ -ār-isgā+j	expert-PL.NOM
Tbilisi	DAT-in+also	other	DAT	country-PL-in-also

ä+cxr-e-x ⁴⁶ ,	mäj	nuḵw-iš-d	do	li-x
1:NVS+elucidate-THEME-PL	what	form-GEN-TFM	then	1:is-PL
nacādw ⁴⁷	lušnu-j	luznu-j	kartwil	mānḵwi-neš,
substituted	SvanNOM-also	ZanNOM-also	GeorgianNOM	firstly-from
ašxw	nən-ži	gar	jer	i-gərgäl-n-öl-x ²²
oneDAT	languageDAT-on	only	that	6:IVS-speak-FT-COND-PL
eča-neš.				allNOM
that-from				

Upper Svania

Upper Svania stretches downwards along the valley of Engur, from Ushgul almost to Djvari²⁰ (Engur, in its turn, begins in the Ushgolian rocks of Shkhar). In between them dwell the Svan-speaking Upper Svans. High rocks and glaciers hide Svania from the Moslem North, and there are only a few transits to pass from there down. These rocks are called 'Caucasus' from the coast of the one sea up to that of the other sea. The settlements of Svania are in the Alpine meadows and mostly in river-valleys, therefore the transit inside, to Racha-Lechkhumi and Megrelia, is only over the mountain-ridges, too; the best transit, however, is during the period³¹ when there is no snow anywhere on the ridge.

Svan is a separate language as well as Zan and Georgian, but in Georgia the Svans, the Megrels and the Georgians for ages have belonged to one another; they are one nation, never been different. They have always believed in the same gods. From the beginning of the reign they had the same king, who also governed everything concerning literacy. We do not forget flesh and blood, otherwise a nation seldom survives, the languages having disintegrated so early that to-day we cannot understand one another. Nowadays linguists in Tbilisi and in other countries are investigating in what way Svan, Zan and Georgian have changed since the time when all spoke the same language.

8.3. Hädiši läjir

Ašxw dwrewži Hädišisa bapd ləmārd¹⁶ Gijerg Ärywlijān. Alas lāxīsnaw⁴⁹, esnār tāringzel⁵⁰ eser āmqedēli⁵¹ Hädišžikānteka⁵² i loxṭūla¹⁸, xola ža, txērāl eser axčwādx⁵³ i xočādu⁵⁴. Gijerg k"oxjācx⁵⁵ a īsnaws i ādṭwiline¹⁸ Hädišisa: tāringzel eser mir išgwem⁵⁶. Ašxw mähdiš eser loxṭixa⁵⁷: jayw"eser, si māre, mič eser nāmbizoš⁵⁸ xola īsnaw lāxīsnawōl⁴⁹, ežya min ičmurjälwnix⁵⁹ bāzi, mare jexkis eši māmā loxhunrax⁶⁰ amnārd i ž"amčedx⁶¹ saqdri qörteži. Ž"amčedx i a qör məḵar⁶² li i saqdar ču luṭpüre⁶³. Al"ēser sāwjārēnka jār īrōl! I āṭywāčx⁶⁴ leža. Wōštxw māre ləmārx³³ kašgār⁶⁵, jōris xaṭār xaṭwēnax⁶⁶ i aljār ž"oxərmālax⁶⁷ hädišārs. Čw"erwāj otčādx⁶¹, eš jōri māre deš im"āntxānx⁶⁸ mērma ladāyi. Ešjārs läjir oxḱīdax⁶⁹ i ala ḱāli⁷⁰. K"ātagānx⁷¹ Hädiši maxeṭwažār tanāyka. Sg"āmčedx sopeltēsga i amču⁷² gārgli²² xāl x i a špote⁷³. Ču rok oṭyaltax⁷⁴ min šwanārs, — jōri māre xōmbwix⁷⁵, —

šišd rok mərāmzi oxmeqrax⁴² mine saqdärtēsga lizi, šišd rok otṭūlax¹⁸ ušxwārd. Min rok ka māg ušxud āmqedēlix⁵¹ ečxānka, mare lātṭwī⁷⁶ rok eṣjār sga mərāmte laxkarwēnax⁷⁷. Amčw"alas gw"axwēm⁷⁸ hādīšarda⁷⁹, lājir māj korte do ādjān⁸⁰, i am⁸¹ lēt sg"axkāl⁸² kašgārs i ertā hamaršw k"ānqid⁸³ lājir šwānte. De meṣwe⁶⁴ jār āhiddax⁸⁴ i de māmngweš. Eṣ lājir murgwāl Sakartwelos xobrājān⁸⁵ Hādīšišd, ertā lājir li i lekrāwid⁷⁷ xama xeḡānōlx⁸⁶?

Lādi ɣyəd mecnijēr⁴⁴ mārāld āntwerx⁵ eṣa i Tbiliste lihwdis išgomdax⁵⁶, mare dēmtē jās xāmbax⁸⁸ hādīšār. ʋo tawrob⁸⁹ āxčād⁹⁰ al gweš i ser čw"akwāc⁹¹, ē šwānjā muzewumisga alšxunēllesw⁹², i čw"ādjan⁸⁰ Meštjate. Muzewumisga išgan soplār xān nāqidw⁸³ lājir lī xuṣwax⁶⁶. Eṣjārisga maṣwnēle⁹⁴ rok li Hādīši lājir.

Soproma Awaļjān, 53 ləzāj, mēhdīš. 1964 zāj.

ašxw	dwrew-zi	hādīš-isa	bap-d	ləmārd ¹⁶	gijerg
oneDAT	timeDAT-on	Hadish-in	priest-TFM	8:existed	Giyerg
ārḡwliyān.	ala-s	lā+x+isnaw ⁴⁹ ,		esnār	tāringzel ⁵⁰
ArḡhwliyanNOM	this-DAT	11:PV+him+dream	as if	archangelNOM	said
āmqedēli ⁵¹	hādīš-žikānte-ka ⁵²	i	lox-ṭūl-a ¹⁸		
13:come+is	Hadish-upward-through	also	13:PV+him+"ExVS"-call-RSL		
xola	ža, txēr+āl	eser	a-xčwād-a-x ⁵³	i	
bad	it wolf+PL.NOM	said	13:PV-him+ExVS+beset-RSL-PL	also	
x-o-čād ⁵⁴ -u.		gijerg	k"+oxjācx ⁵⁵		
11:him-"ExVS"-defend-PTC.CNJ	GiyergNOM	PV'+11:PV+to it +ExVS+awoke			
a	isnaw-s	i	ād-ṭwīl-in-e ¹⁸	hādīš-isa:	tāringzel
this	dream-DAT	also	11:PV+IVS-cry-PX-AOR	Hadish-in	archangelNOM
eser	mir	i-šgwem ⁵⁶ .	ašxw	mēhdīš-s	eser
said	someDAT	1:IVS-ask	oneDAT	Hadishian-DAT	said
lox-ṭix-a ⁵⁷		jayw"eser, si	māre,	mič	eser
13:PV+him+ExVS-return-RSL	then+said	thou	man	him	said
xola	isnaw	la-x-īsna-w-ōl ⁴⁹ ,	eṣya	min	
badNOM	dreamNOM	7:PV-him-dream-COND	because of it	they themselvesNOM	
i-čmurjāl-wni-x ⁵⁹	bāzi,	mare	jerxi-s	ešī	māma
4:"IVS"-run about-FT-PL	tonight	but	some-DAT	nevertheless	not
lox-hunr-a-x ⁶⁰		amnār-d	i	ž"+amčed-x ⁶¹	
13:VP+him+"ExVS"-obey-RSL-PL	this+TFM	also	PV'+13:gone-PL		
saḡdr-i	gōr-te-ži.	ž"+amčed-x	i	a	gōr
sanctuary-GEN	doors-to-on		also	DEM	doorsNOM
li	i.	saḡdar	ču	luṭpüre ⁶³ .	al"ēser
is	also	sanctuaryNOM	PV'	n.r.skinnedNOM	this+said
sāwj-ār-ənka		jār	ī-r-ōl!	i	
NorthCaucasian-PL-besides		whoNOM	6:"IVS"-be-COND	also	
āt-ṣwāč-x ⁶⁴		leža.	wōštxw	māre	lēmār-x ³³
11:PV+him+IVS-followed-PL		upwards	fourNOM	manNOM	13:been-PL
kašg-ār ⁶⁶ ,	jōri-s	xat-ār	x-a-ṣw-ēn-a-x ⁶⁶		
Kabardian-PL.NOM	two-DAT	icon-PL.NOM	13:him-"NVS"-have-PRT.MD-RSL-PL		

i alj-är ž''ox-ärmäl-a-x⁶⁷ hädış-är-s.
 also this-PL.NOM PV'+13:PV+him+'ExVS'-catch-RSL-PL Hadishian-PL-DAT
 čw''+terwāj ot-čäd-x⁶¹, eš jōri märe
 PV'+RELwhoNOM 11:PV+him+ExVS-went-PL that two manABS/NOM
 deš im''+än-tx-än-x⁶⁸ mērma ladäy-ī
 not-by-any-means where+11:PV-find-PRT.MD-PL otherLOC/DAT day-also
 ešj-är-s läjir ox-kīd-a-x⁶⁹ i ala
 that-PL-DAT writingNOM 13:PV+him+'ExVS'-take-RSL-PL also thisNOM
 käl-i⁷⁰. k''+ät-a-g-än-x⁷¹ hädış-i
 is lacking-THEME PV'+11:PV+to it-NVS-stand-PRT.MD-PL Hadish-GEN
 maxeywaž-är tanäy-ka. sg''+ämčed-x⁶¹ sopol-tēsga i
 brave man-PL.NOM pass-through PV'+13:gone-PL village-into also
 amču⁷² gärg-li²² xälx i a špot-e⁷³: ču rok
 here 1:speak-THEME peopleNOM also DEM 1:fuss-THEME PV' said
 ot-yalt-a-x⁷⁴ min šwan-är-s, -
 13:PV+him+'ExVS'-ruin-RSL-PL they themselvesNOM Svan-PL-DAT
 jōri märe x-ō+mbw-i-x⁷⁵, - šışd rok
 two manNOM 1:him, them-ExVS+narrate-THEME-PL suddenly said
 mēräm-ži ox-meqr-a-x⁴² min-e
 somewhere-on 13:PV+him+'ExVS'-understand-RSL-PL they-GEN
 sagdär-tēsga lizi, šışd rok ot-ful-a-x¹⁸
 sanctuary-into goingNOM suddenly said 13:PV+him+'ExVS'-cry-RSL-PL
 ušxwār-d. min rok ka mäg ušxud
 one another-TFM they themselvesNOM said PV' allNOM together
 ämqedeli-x⁵¹ ečxän-ka, mare lätw-ži⁷⁶ rok ešj-är
 13: come+is-PL from there-out but refugish-on said that-PL.NOM
 sga mēräm-te la-x-karw-ën-a-x⁷⁷. amčw''+ala-s
 PV' somewhere-to 13:PV-him-lose-PRT.MD-RSL-PL here+this-DAT
 gw''+a-xwēm-x⁷⁸ hädış-är-d-a⁷⁹, läjir
 heartABS/NOM+11:PV-to it+gave-PL Hadishian-PL-ERG-DEM writingNOM
 māj kor-te do äd-j-än⁸⁰ i am⁸¹ lēt
 what house-to then 11:PV+IVS-take-PRT.MD also thisDAT nightNOM.AV
 sg''+ä-x-käl-x⁸² kašg-är-s i yert-ä hamar-šw
 PV'+11:PV-them-slunk-PL Kabardian-PL-DAT also God-GEN solelity-INST
 k''+än-qid-x⁸³ läjir šwän-te. de meyweč⁶⁴
 PV'+11:PV-brought-PL writingABS/NOM Svania-to nor n.a.persecutor
 jār ä-hīd-da-x⁸⁴ i de māmngweš. eš läjir
 whoNOM 11:PV-overtake-IF-PL also nor nothingNOM that writingNOM
 murgwāl sakartwelo-s x-o-brāj-än⁸⁵
 a.round Georgia-DAT 11(2):to it-'ExVS'-present-PRT.MD
 hädış-ış-d, yert-ä läjir li i lekrāwī-d⁷⁶
 Hadish-GEN-TFM God-GEN writingNOM is also for losing-TFM

xama	x-e-qān-ōl-x ^{86?}	lādi	3yəd	mecniĵēr ⁴⁴
how exactly	6:him-"ExVS"-justify-CNJ-PL	to-day	big	expert
mār+āl-d	ān-twer-x ⁵	eža	i	tbilis-te
man+PL-ERG	11:PV+IVS-studied-PL	thatABS/NOM	also	Tbilisi-to
lihwdi-s	i-šgom-da-x ⁵⁶ ,	mare	dēm-te	jās
giving-DAT	2:IVS-request-IF-PL	but	nowhere-to	whoDAT
x-ā+mb-a-x ⁸⁸	hādīš-ār.	yo	tawrob ⁸⁹	
2:him-NVS+let-IF-PL	Hadishian-PL.NOM	afterwards	governmentNOM	
āx-čōd ⁹⁰	al	gweš-s	i	ser
11(2):PV+to it+intervened	this	affair-DAT	also	already
čw''+a-kwāc ⁹¹	ē	šwānj-ā	muzewum-isga	a-lšxunēl-lesw ⁹² ,
PV'+11:PV-cut	as	Svania-GEN	museum-in	15:PV-kept-were
čw''+ād-j-ān ⁸⁰			mesĵja-te.	muzewum-isga
PV'+11:PV+IVS-take-PRT.MD			Mestya-to	museum-in
sopl-ār-xān	nāqidw ⁸³	lājr-āl+ī		otherDAT
village-PL-from	carried	writing-PL.NOM+also		
x-u-yw-a-x ⁶⁶ .		eĵj-ār-isga	mažwnēle ⁹⁴	rok
1:him-"ExVS"-have-THEME-PL		that-PL-in	the oldestNOM	said
hādīš-i	lājir.			li
Hadish-GEN	writingNOM			is

The Book of Hadish⁴⁸

Once upon a time Giyerg Arghwliyan lived in Hadish as a priest. He is said to have had a dream as if the archangel⁵⁰ had come through over Hadish calling to him 'poor me!', as if wolves had beset him and the priest should have defended him. Giyerg awoke from this dream and cried to Hadish that the archangel had asked for something. One Hadishian is said to have answered that, man alive, due to the nightmare of someone's satiety they would run about that night, nevertheless some people did not listen to him and went up⁶¹ to the doors of the sanctuary. They went up and, look, the doors were open and the sanctuary had been robbed. 'Besides North-Caucasians, — they said, — who else would be these!', and pursued eastwards. The four men appeared to have been there, the Kabardians, two of them having icons, and these two were captured by the Hadishians⁶⁷. But who had run away, these two men could not be found anywhere even the next day. They had taken the Book and it was lost. The brave Hadishians set forth over the mountain-pass. They reached a village where people were speaking fussily, 'They themselves appear to have been ruined by the Svans!', the two men narrated saying the Svans had suddenly somehow perceived and communicated to one another the breaking into the sanctuary, and saying themselves, however, had come out of it together but those two had disappeared somewhere from their sight during the flight. Here the Hadishians noticed the house, the Book was carried into, and they slunk by the Kabardians that night and with only God's help carried the Book to Svania. Neither any pursuer nor anything else overtook

them. All Georgia had presented this Book to Hadish, it is God's Book, and was it really possible to lose it somehow?

Nowadays great experts studied it and asked to deliver it to Tbilisi⁸⁷ but the Hadishians did not let it go to anyone, anywhere. Afterwards the Government intervened in this affair and then it was decided it should be kept in the Svania Museum, so it was taken to the Museum in Mestya⁹³. In this museum they have books carried from other settlements, too, the Book of Hadish appearing to be the oldest among them.

Soproma Awalyan, 53 years old, Hadishian, 1964.

8.4. Metxwjár märe

Eşxu märe ləmār, metxwjár, məžābeş, Xulāč xaxxēna²⁶. Soproma Gužeşjānā kor⁹⁵ čukwān atxēj ži xetra⁹⁶ gims eči nakruwāl⁹⁷. Al märe eči jenās ləmārli i ešqāli kožāš, ere Twetnōlds murgwenxān xācxpānwā⁹⁸ i ka ləmquādwīn⁹⁹ žikān Čanri tanāytēsga, ečxānka Twibērtē i nābozs Žābeštēsga ləmquādwīn. Āmčedēli¹⁰⁰ ašxw ladey al šukws¹⁰¹ lātxwjárte. Nātxwjárāl māma xatxēna⁶⁸ Twetnōldā girkid. K''āmčedēli Čanri tanāyd. Amēj māma xatxēna. K''āmčedēli žābe lārtgālxān Twibērtē. Amēj māma xatxēna. Ame kwāb xocxēnda¹⁰² i čw''asād¹⁰³ ameču. Kwābs xāra čiçwā qōr, ešy''ere ž''ēr mōd lāxtōrēns⁹⁶ ešē, ala jēr kwāb li. Al metxwjár kām dēsa ləmsādwin¹⁰³, mare nātxwjárāwul āgitēj dēsa xaxlēna¹⁰⁴ liṭex. Hams k''āncīwre¹⁰⁵ amxānka i kwāb⁹⁵ sgwebinču mindwer xālxwš gweši ləmārli. Č''ottōra⁹⁶ al xālx sāwjārd. Sāwjār usurmān xālx lix. Usurmān i kristjān ečka xešjālx¹⁰⁶. Xulāč gud aqād⁹⁹, al sāwjār Məžālwaš i Məlxā laylātt'' anyrix¹⁰⁷. Xeķwes ačes¹⁰⁰ amxānka, ču lebžine li Məlx-Məžāl. Mare kwāb sga xaxāč¹⁰⁸ al mindwers i ka laqādži⁹⁹ ka xeçdenix¹⁰⁹ i ečka txum sga laxdagri¹¹⁰ aljārs, mare Məlxā mašedd māma qedni⁹⁹. Amži deş xaqā⁸⁶.

Sāwjār amxāwtēsga ašijaş gar anyrix i amži sg''ānkoķwān¹¹¹. Ašxw māra twetne wosār xākw¹¹² i xoša twetne paqw ži xāg⁷¹. Ka tera⁹⁶, ere ala žāri maxwši li. Ču ləg⁷¹ al märe nēsga xālxisga i gārgli²². Xulāč adčķūre¹¹³, amēn xoča limārws rok dēmyad mōš ičo¹¹⁴, amčūw rok adgār¹¹⁰ žāri maxwši sāwjareš. Žwinel lušnu tweps mērwe pindix otkim¹¹⁵, k''āxpišwd¹¹⁶ kwābxānka i al märe ž''esriçw¹¹⁷ xālxisga. Sāwjār ž''ānžomānx¹¹⁸, ušxwār ātčēdx⁹⁰, topārs xoçwēnex¹¹⁹ ušxwār, ançwmex¹²⁰, jās eser xogra¹²¹ maxwšid twep. Iša twep irōl, cxāj, naķwārw. Atxe xārx ešxu mihmān. Girkid sipx¹²², mare ešira, dār ime tera⁹⁶. Ču ləmbže¹²³ lix, māj kāž rok āmtgwepe¹²⁴. Atxēw rok ešçwēnx¹²⁵ weşgd, ado šwanār rok kažrāl lix i mine gimī rok kāž li i min eser weşgd lejār dār texnix⁵⁷. Tanāyži zek mām'' itxi⁶⁸. Sāwjārd mužwālšw ansgex¹²⁶ saķācx i ž''ešçwēnx i esqax¹⁵⁸ amnoš mine matxwmi. Xulāč xociwārīd¹⁰⁵ kwābxānka. Sāwjār lež''āttwāpx¹²⁷ i Xulāčdī k''ānķwār¹²⁸ kwābi qōr i k''ānqād⁹⁹. Ešxu lişjāl amnoš alžomēli¹¹⁹.

Soproma Gužeşjān, 57 ləzāj, məmlax, 1965 zāj.

eşxu märe	ləmār,	metxwjár,	məžābeş,	xulāč
one manNOM	8:been	hunterNOM	ZhabeshianNOM	KhulachNOM

x-a-žx-ən-a²⁶ soproma gužežjān-ā kor
 8(13):him-"NVS"-name-PRT.MD-RSL Soprom Gudjedjyan-GEN house⁹⁵
 čukwān atxē+j ži x-e-tr-a⁹⁶ gim-s
 below now+also PV' 1:to it-"VS"-recognize-RSL earth-LOC/DAT
 ečī nakruwāl⁹⁷ al märe eč-ži jenās ləmār-li i
 its house-restsPL this manNOM that-on quickNOM 8:been-is also
 ežkālī kožāš, ere twetneld-s mursgwen-xān
 of that kind cliff'sNOM that Tetnulda-DAT right-from
 x-ā+cxpānw+na⁹⁸ i ka ləmqādwin⁹⁹ žikān čanr-i
 8:to it-NVS+walk around+SF also PV' 8:come upwards Tsaner-GEN
 tanāy-tēsga, eč-xānka twibēr-te i nāboz-s
 pass-into that-out of Twiber-to also evening-LOC/DAT
 žābeš-tēsga ləmqādwin. āmčedēli¹⁰⁰ ašxw ladey al
 Zhabesh-into 8:come 13:gone+is oneDAT dayNOM.AV this
 šukw-s¹⁰¹ lātxwjar-te. nātxwjar+āl māma
 way-LOC/DAT huntingish-to shooting beast+PL not
 x-a-tx-ən-a⁶⁸ twetneld-ā girkid. k"+āmčedēli
 13:him-"NVS"-find-PRT.MD-RSL Tetnulda-GEN around PV'+13:gone+is
 čanr-i tanāy-d. amē+j māma x-a-tx-ən-a.
 Tsaner-GEN pass-TFM here-also not 13:him-"NVS"-find-PRT.MD-RSL
 k"+āmčedēli žābe lārtg-āl-xān twibēr-te. amē+j māma
 PV'+13:gone+is eastern belt-PL-from Twiber-to here-also not
 x-a-tx-ən-a. ame kwāb
 13:him-"NVS"-find-PRT.MD-RSL here caveNOM
 x-o-cx-ən-da¹⁰² i čw"+a-sād¹⁰³ amēču. kwāb-s
 2:him-"ExVS"-know-PRT.MD-IF also PV'+11:PV-remained here cave-DAT
 x-ār-a¹⁵⁵ čičwā gōr, ežy"ēre mōd
 8:to it-NVS+be-RSL turvesGEN doorNOM for not
 lā+x-tēr-ən-s⁹⁶ ež+ē, ala j-ēr
 15:PV+him,them-recognize-PRT.MD-it thanNOM+DEM thisNOM GLIDE-that
 kwāb li. al metxwjar kām dēsa ləmsādwin¹⁰³, mare
 caveNOM is this hunterNOM outside not 8:remained but
 nātxwjara-w-ul āgi-tē+j dēsa
 shooting beastDAT-GLIDE-without home-to+also not
 x-a-łl-ən-a¹⁰⁴ lițex. ham-s
 8(13):him-"VS"-know-PRT.MD-RSL returningNOM morning-LOC/DAT
 k"+ān-cīwr-e¹⁰⁵ am-xānka i kwāb sgwebinču mindwer
 PV'+11:PV-watch-AOR this-out of also cave⁹⁵ in front of fieldNOM
 xāl-x-wš gweši ləmār-li č"+ot-tēr-a⁹⁶
 people-INST full 8:been-is PV'+13:PV+him+"ExVS"-recognize-RSL
 al xāl-x sawj-ār-d. sawj-ār usurmān xāl-x
 this peopleNOM Kabardian-PL-TFM Kabardian-PL.NOM Moslem peopleNOM

li-x. usurmān i kristjān ečka x-e-šjāl-x¹⁰⁶.
 is-PL MoslemNOM also ChristianNOM then 2:them-ExVS-fight-they
 xulāč gu-d a-qād⁹⁹, al sājw-ār mēžāl-w-āš
 KhulachNOM heart-TFM 11:PV-came this Kabardian-PL.NOM Muzhal-GEN
 i mēlx-ā laylāt-t'+ān-yr-i-x¹⁰⁷. xekwes¹⁴⁰
 also Mulakh-GEN ruiningish-to+1:PV-come-THEME-they must
 a-č-e-s¹⁰⁰ am-xānka, ču lebžine li
 12:PV-go-AOR-he this-out of PV' for being informedNOM is
 mēlx-mēžāl-w. mare kwāb sga x-a-kač¹⁰⁸ al
 Mulakh-MuzhalNOM but caveNOM PV' 1:to it-"VS"-stand this
 mindwer-s i ka laqād⁹⁹ -ži ka
 field-DAT also PV'out coming-on PV'
 x-e-čd-en-i-x¹⁰⁹ i ečka txum sga
 5(1):him-ExVS-catch sight of-MD-THEME-they also then headDAT PV'
 la-x-dagr-i¹¹⁰ alj-ār-s, mare mēlx-ā mašed-d māma
 5:PV-them-kill-THEME he-PL-DAT but Mulakh-GEN rescuer-TFM not
 qed-n-i⁹⁹. amži deš x-a-q-a⁸⁶.
 5(1):come-MD-THEME thus not-by-any-means 1:to it-"VS"-have-THEME
 sājw-ār amxāw-tēsga ašijaš gar an-yr-i-x¹⁰⁷
 Kabardian-PL.NOM to here-into gradually only 1:PV-come-THEME-they
 i amži sg'+ān-koq-w-ān-x¹¹¹. ašxw māra
 also thus PV'+11:PV+IVS-increase-PRT.MD-they oneDAT manDAT
 twetne wosār x-ā-tkw¹¹² i xoša twetne
 whiteNOM chokha-coatNOM 1:on him-"VS"+put on also big white
 paq-w ži x-ā-tg⁷¹. ka ter-a⁹⁶, ere ala
 capNOM PV' 1:on him-"VS"+stand PV' 1:recognize-RSL that thisNOM
 žār-i maxwši li. ču l-ə-g⁷¹. al märe nēsga
 army-GEN chiefNOM is PV' 1:he-GLIDE-stand this manNOM among
 xālx-isga i gārgl-i²². xulāč-d ad-čkūr-e¹¹³, amən
 people-in also 1:speak-THEME Khulach-ERG 11:PV-think-AOR thisDAT
 x-o-č-a limār-w-s rok dēmyad mōš
 to it-ExVS-good-RSL man-being-DAT said by no means separate
 i-čō¹¹⁴, amčū+w rok ad-gār¹¹⁰ žār-i maxwši
 1:IVS-do here+PTC.CNJ said 11:PV-kill army-GEN chiefABS/NOM
 sājw-are-š. žwinel lušnu twep-s mērwe pindix
 Kabardian-PL-GEN old Svan gun-DAT secondABS/NOM bulletABS/NOM
 ot-kim¹¹⁵, k'+ā-x-pišwd¹¹⁶ kwāb-xānka i
 11:PV+to it+ExVS-add PV'+11:PV-him-shoot cave-out of also
 al märe ž'+es-ričw¹¹⁷ xālx-isga. sājw-ār
 this manABS/NOM PV'+11:PV-stretch people-in Kabardian-PL.NOM
 ž'+ān-žom-ān-x¹¹⁸, ušxwār
 PV'+11:PV+IVS-disturb-PRT.MD-they one another

ät-čäd-x⁹⁰, top-är-s x-o-čwën-e-x¹¹⁹
 11:PV+IVS-intermingle-they gun-PL-DAT 1:him-ExVS-show-THEME-they
 ušxwār, an-čwm-e-x¹²⁰, jās eser
 one another 1:PV-attest-THEME-they whoDAT said
 x-o-q-r-a¹²¹ maxwši-d twep. iša twep ī-r-ōl,
 13:him-"ExVS"-hit-RSL chief-TFM gunNOM whoGEN gunNOM 6:"IVS"-be-MD
 cxāj, naḵwār. atxe x-ār-x ešxu mihmān, girkid
 indeed shotNOM now 1:him-"NVS"+be-PL oneNOM fussNOM around
 sip-x¹²², mare ešra, dār ime ter-a⁹⁶. ču
 1:circling-they but but no! nobodyNOM where 1:recognize-MD PV'
 ləmbže¹²³ li-x, māj kāž rok āmtgwepēli¹²⁴.
 astonishedNOM is-PL whatNOM horned devilNOM said 13:exploded+is
 atxē-w rok es-čwën-x¹²⁵ wešgd, ado šwan-ār
 now-PTC.CNJ said 11:PV-turn-they backwards otherwise Svan-PL.NOM
 rok kaž-rāl li-x i min-e gim-ī rok
 said horned devil-PL.NOM is-PL also they-GEN earth-also said
 kāž li i min eser wešgd ləjār
 horned devilNOM is also themselvesNOM said backwards aliveNOM
 dār ɬex-n-i-x⁵⁷. tanāy-ži zek
 nobodyNOM 5(1):return-MD-THEME-they pass-on fire-woodNOM
 mām"+i-tx-i⁶⁸. sawj-ār-d mužwr+āl-šw
 not+1:IVS-find-THEME Kabardian-PL-ERG lance+PL-INST
 an-sq-e-x¹²⁶ saḵācx i ž"+es-čwën-x¹²⁵ i
 11:PV-do-AOR-they stretcherABS/NOM also PV'+11:PV-turn-they also
 es-q-a-x⁸⁶ amn-oš min-e matxwmi. xulāč
 1:PV-have-THEME-they this-INST they-GEN chiefNOM KhulachNOM
 x-o-čwār¹⁰⁵ -id kwāb-xānka. sawj-ār
 1:them-ExVS-watch-THEME+yet(=keeps) cave-out of Kabardian-PL.NOM
 lež"+āt-twāp-x¹²⁷ i xulāč-d-ī
 upward+11:PV+IVS-disappear-they also Khulach-ERG-also
 k"+ān-ḵwār¹²⁸ kwāb-i qōr i k"+ān-qād⁹⁹.
 PV'+11:PV-open cave-GEN doorABS/NOM also PV'+11:PV-came
 ešxu lišjāl amn-oš alžomēli¹¹⁹.
 oneNOM fightNOM this-INST 13:disturbed+is

A Hunter

One man, Zhabeshian, is said to have been a hunter, Khulach by name. The remains of his house are still to be seen now below the house of Soproma Gudjedjyan. That man seems to have been so quick and an alpinist of such a kind that he would go round Tetnulda on the right and come up to the pass of Tsaner, from there to Twiber, and come back to Zhabesh in the evening. One day he went this way to hunt. Having found no beasts around Tetnulda, he went up to the pass of Tsaner and did not find there, either. He went up along the eastern belts to Twiber but he found

nothing there as well. One cave was known to him there, and he stayed there. The cave is said to have had a turf-covered door in order that it could not be seen, there was a cave there. This hunter would not stay outside his house, but he would not know home-coming without game, either. In the morning he looked out and this was the field in front of the cave full of people. He recognized that people to be Kabardian. The Kabardians are a Moslem nation, Moslems and Christians were at war then. Khulach perceived that the Kabardians came to ravage Muzhal and Mulakh. Mulakh and Muzhal were to be warned, he was to go out of there, but the cave faced the field, so he would be noticed while coming out and perish, however, would not become useful to Mulakh. That was not the (right) way.

The Kabardians gradually kept coming and crowding. One man was dressed in a white chokha and had a big cap on his head. He seemed to be chief of the army. That man was standing within the crowd and speaking. Khulach thought he would do nothing more manful than kill the chief of the Kabardian army. He charged his old Svan gun with a new bullet, shot from the cave and laid down that man amongst the people. The Kabardians got confused, started bustling, showing their guns to one another and examining who had made a shot at the chief. Whatever gun it was, it did fire, indeed. So they had a real fuss then. They ran about but in vain, nobody was seen there. They wondered what the deuce had happened, saying they should turn back at once, otherwise the Svans were such horned devils, their land was also a horned devil, that none of them would return home alive. No wood may be found on the mountain pass, so the Kabardians made a stretcher out of lances and turned backwards thus carrying their chief. Khulach looked out of the cave. The Kabardians had disappeared in the east and Khulach in his turn came out. One fight is said to have been hindered in that way.

8.5. Nišgwěj Mu

Nišgwěj Mu, xedwāj xāri¹⁶ decārs, lesw ɕqəljan isgu žaxe, ānīgēns⁷¹ isgu lipusd¹²⁹, lesw isgu nāb¹³⁰ imwājži decārs ežži gimži. Lāno¹³¹ lādī čī lādī dijār i naxwāšin¹³² nišgwěj naŷewrāl imwājži nāj xwaxwāšined¹³² nišgwějcaxān ɣewarāls, i numa anja⁸⁰ lakdunār¹³³ laḳwhuratēsga¹³⁴, i āniṭx¹³⁵ xolām xānka.

n-išgwěj	mu,	xedwāj	x-ār+ti ¹⁶
1.PL.EXC-POSSESS	fatherNOM	RELwhoNOM	1:2.ExVS-exist+THEME
dec-ār-s,	l-esw	ɕqəljan	isgu žaxe,
sky-PL-LOC/DAT	3:he-beCNJ	holyNOM	thyNOM nameNOM
ā+n+ī-g-ēn-s ⁷¹		isgu	lipusd ¹²⁹ ,
15:PV+1.PL.EXC.IVS+IVS-stand-PRT.MD-it		thyNOM	governmentNOM
l-esw	isgu	nāb ¹³⁰	imwājži
3:he-beCNJ	thyNOM	willNOM	RELhow
gim-ži.	lā+n+o ¹³¹		lādī+j
earth-on	11:PV+1.PL.EXC.IVS+NVS+give	to-day+also	of all

ädy-i dijär i n-a-xwäšin¹³²
 day-GEN breadABS/NOM also 11:1.PL.EXC.IVS-NVS-forgive
 n-išgwěj nayēwr-äl imwājži nāj
 1.PL.EXC-POSSESS n.r.offence-PL.ABS/NOM RELhow also we
 xw-a-xwäšin-e-d¹³² nišgwěj-caxän yēwar-äl-s
 1:1.EXC.ExVS-NVS-forgive-THEME-PL ourEXC-at offender-PL-DAT
 i numa a+n-j-a⁸⁰ lakdunār¹³³
 also not 11:PV+1.PL.EXC.IVS-take-1,2SG.AOR misleading
 lakwhura¹³⁴-tēsga i ä+n-ti-tx¹³⁵
 temptush-into also 11:PV+1.PL.EXC.IVS-IVS-turn
 xolām-xänka.
 evilDAT-out of

8.6. Kwini liṭxe

Laxe mušwän žwēdijas ču idgāri¹¹⁰ i lədgārs¹¹⁰ āgite qidex⁸³ i ɣo čw''ašdywix¹³⁶,
 ečkanɣo kwini lətxate¹³⁵ ɣərix¹³⁷. Inqṛinex¹³⁸ ašxw mära muswṭis¹³⁹. Al mära
 xakuč¹⁴⁰ ere kwini liṭxēmi loc¹⁴¹ xoxaldēds¹⁰⁴. Kwini məṭxe¹³⁵ čāngs ājēsgi⁸⁰,
 mamilws¹⁴³ iqdāni¹⁴⁴ i ču nadgarw¹¹⁰ ādgilməq ka ɣərix. Ečkas locs qəle¹⁴⁵,
 mamilws ləyljās¹⁴⁶ ičxine¹⁴⁷, čāngs šənži iqdāni i ibnex²¹ liqeds tāmāšd: kwins
 eser ži no āxpešs¹⁴⁸. Šuḳwžin¹⁰¹ čāngs ašwmex¹⁴⁹, ime-ime ži išwmīnex¹⁵⁰.
 čw''eser do ādqālwešs¹⁵¹ kwins jenasd laqādžin⁹⁹. Amži tāmāšd anyrix¹⁰⁷, wod
 āgid do ahix¹⁵². Wōbāšin žwēdija kweqanaxāni⁴⁵ qidex amžin kwins.

svanuri prozauli ṭekštēbi, I, 8–9.

kwin-i liṭxe. laxe mušwän žwēdijas ču i-dgār-i¹¹⁰
 soul-GEN returningNOM if a SvanNOM far off PV' 1:IVS-die-THEME
 i lədgār-s¹¹⁰ āgi-te qid-e-x⁸³ i ɣo
 also dead-DAT place-to 1:bring-THEME-PL also afterwards
 čw''+ašdyw-i-x¹³⁶, ečkan-ɣo kwin-i lətxa¹³⁵-te
 PV'+1:NVS-bury-THEME-PL then-after soul-GEN returnalDAT-to
 ɣər-i-x¹³⁷. i-nqṛin-e-x¹³⁸ ašxw mära muswṭi¹³⁹-s.
 1:go-THEME-PL 1: IVS-take-THEME-PL oneDAT manDAT near relative-DAT
 al mära xakuč¹⁴⁰ ere kwin-i liṭxēmi loc¹⁴¹
 this manDAT wants to soul-GEN returningGEN prayer
 x-o-xal-d-ēd-s¹⁰⁴. kwin-i məṭxe¹³⁵ čāngs
 3:him-"ExVS"-know-IF-CNJ-it soul-GEN returnerNOM chang-DAT
 ā+jēsgi⁸⁰, mamilws¹⁴³ iqdāni¹⁴⁴ i ču nadgarw¹¹⁰
 1:NVS+take-THEME cock-DAT 1:IVS-hold-THEME also PV' death's
 ādgil-məq ka ɣər-i-x¹³⁷. ečkas loc-s qəle¹⁴⁵, mamilw-s
 place-at PV' 1:go-THEME-PL then prayer-DAT 1:say-THEME cock-DAT
 ləyljās¹⁴⁶ i-čxin-e¹⁴⁷, čāngs šən-ži
 armpitLOC/DAT 1:IVS-insert-THEME chang-DAT hand-on
 iqdāni¹⁴⁴ i i-bn-e-x²¹ liqeds tāmāšd:
 1: IVS-hold-THEME also 1:IVS-begin-THEME-PL coming-DAT slowly

kwin-s	eser	ži	no	āx-peš-s ¹⁴⁸	šukw-žin ¹⁰¹
soul-DAT	said	PV'	not	12:PV+to it+"VS"-be tired-it	way-on
čāng-s	a-šwm-e-x ¹⁴⁹			ime-ime	ži i-šwmīn-e-x ¹⁵⁰
chang-DAT	1:PV-play-THEME-PL		where-where	PV'	1:IVS-rest-THEME-PL
čw'+ēser	do	ād-qālw-ēn-s ¹⁵¹		kwin	jenasd
PV'+said	then	12:PV+IVS-frighten-PRT.MD-it		soulNOM	quickly
laqād ⁹⁹ -žin.	amži	tāmāšd an-yr-i-x ¹⁰⁷		wod	āgi-d do
coming-on	thus	slowly	1:PV-come-THEME-PL	till	place-TFM then
a-h-i-x ¹⁵²		wōbāšin	žwēdija	kwegana ⁴⁵	-xān-i
1:PV-reach-THEME-PL		often	far		country-from-also
qid-e-x ⁸³		amžin	kwin-s.		
1:bring-THEME-PL	thus		soul-DAT		

The Return of the Soul

When a Svan dies far from home, the Svans, after bringing him back and burying, go to return his soul. They take with them the nearest relative of the deceased¹³⁹. This man must know the prayer of the soul's returning. The returner takes a chang¹⁴², holds a cock¹⁴³ and they go to the place of the death. Then he says the prayer, presses¹⁴⁷ the cock under his armpit, holds the chang in his hand, and they begin coming back slowly: "The soul be not tired!" On the way they play the chang, resting here and there: "The soul would be frightened of quick going!" Thus they slowly come until finally reach home. Sometimes the soul is brought in this manner from a far distance, too.

svanuri prozauli teksṭebi, I, 8-9

8.7. Laṭob i miča liznāni

Laṭob piširs xōg⁷¹ šwānisga, mare ašxw ṡwebxānka xwāj twi mām xeḱīdi⁶⁹, ežyēre usgwām došdulmaxajisga¹⁵³ mērāls lamšija¹⁵⁴ mām xār¹⁵⁵ i twis gar izbix¹⁵⁶ ežjār. Ečanka ṡweb mām li ɣṡəd i xwāj parā ladāsg¹⁵⁷ mām xār. Šwanārs xoxax¹⁰⁴, ere laṭob žgerāg Lenčāši nasqāw¹⁵⁸ li lenčajisga.

ṡwebjākd meḱwšda ḱudurs isgd biḱwex¹⁵⁹. Ečas sgānčun gwigws ži xoḱedx, dətṡel behārs gar cwirex¹⁶⁰ i ečxān-amxān nakwcūrka¹⁶¹ cwirex sam yet pxulēmi namšara¹⁶². Laxe ṡweb ka iršgīne¹⁶³, ečkas narāšgws¹⁶³ sg"aptxənex¹⁶⁴ maxe ṡwebte. Sgwebnāw žibe behs šwelšw čw"abpxənālix¹⁶⁵. ṡwebs bəgi lagāms¹⁶⁶ xosqēnex¹⁵⁸, ži jer dōmnoš iḱwtunāldēds¹⁶⁷, i xočām mēžārisga jəgemx¹⁶⁶. Miž xeḱwes¹⁴⁰ mižlačādži xečdendēds¹⁰⁹. ṡwebi āgi licādunes dēmṡad xaqa⁸⁶, ḱoṡōl ka likxesi, ado ečunyo ežjār mine ṡwebs deš xexwax¹⁶⁸. Twis šwānisga Limərje¹⁶⁹ ladāy i liwčmāljl̄ gar xoḱedx. Mužṡwer sga jəgālix⁷¹ qwēdi i ṡebdi sadgwemtēsga¹⁷⁰ i ečēsga xōgx Xarābladaṡw¹⁷¹. Ala li lupxws i ež ladāy ka jəgālix, laxe xoča ṡarwes li, lax ṡebdi li i suru mēcxi mōd xār ṡwebilārs. Xarāb¹⁷¹ xexōl¹⁶⁸ 25 mārṡs žwinel šeldži.

svanuri enis kresṡomaṡia, 132 (Č. Gužēžjānā redakcija)

layob	i	miča	līznāni.	layob	pišir-s
apiaryNOM	also	its	looking afterNOM	apiaryNOM	many-DAT
x-ō-g ⁷¹			šwān-isga, mare	ašxw	γweb-xānka xwāj
1:to it-"ExVS"-stand		Svania-in	but	oneDAT	hive-out of much
twi	mām	x-e-kīd-i ⁶⁹ ,		ešy"ēre	usgwām došdulmaxa ¹⁵³ -jisga
honeyNOM	not	1:from it-ExVS-take-MD	since	sixDAT	month-in
mēr-āl-s	lamšija ¹⁵⁴	mām	x-ā-tr-x ¹⁵⁵	i	twi-s
fly-PL-DAT	workingishNOM	not	1:to it-"VS"+be-PL	also	honey-DAT
gar	i-zb-i-x ¹⁵⁶	ešj-ār.	eč-ānka	γweb	mām li zyəd
only	1:IVS-eat-THEME-PL	that-PL	that-besides	hiveNOM	not is big
i	xwāj	par-ā	ladāsg ¹⁵⁷	mām	x-ā-tr ¹⁵⁵ .
also	much	honeycomb-GEN	puttingish	not	1:to it-VS+be
x-o-xa-x ¹⁰⁴ ,		ere	layob	žgəräg	lenčāš-ī
1:him-"ExVS"-know-PL	that	apiaryNOM	George	Lenchash-GEN+GEN	
nasqāw ¹⁵⁸	li	lenča-jisga.	γweb-jāk-d	meķwšda	ķudur-s
made	is	forest-in	hiv(e)-al-TFM	shortDAT	junk-DAT
isgd		biqwe ¹⁵⁹ -x.	eča-s	sgānčun	gwigw-s
haif-and-half	1:cleave-PL	that-DAT	inside	pith-DAT	PV'
x-o-ķed-x ⁶⁹ ,		dətxel	beh-ār-s	gar	cwire ¹⁶⁰ -x
1:to it-ExVS-take-PL	thin	side-PL-DAT	only	1:leave-PL	also
eč-xān	am-xān	nakwcūr ¹⁶¹ -ka	cwire ¹⁶⁰ -x	sam	yet
that-from	this-from	cut-out	1:leave-PL	threeDAT	almost
pxulēmi	namšara ¹⁶² .	laxe	γweb	ka	i-ršgīn-e ¹⁶³ ,
fingerGEN	widthDAT	if	hiveNOM	PV'	1:IVS-swarm-THEME
narāšgw ¹⁶³ -s	sg''+ā-ptxəne ¹⁶⁴ -x	maxe	γweb-te.	sgwebnāw	žibe
n.r.swarm-DAT	PV'+1:NVS-shake-PL	new	hive-to	earlier	upper
beh-s	šwelšw	čw''+a-bpxənāl-i-x ¹⁶⁵ .		γweb-s	bəgi
side-DAT	whew-INST	PV'+1:NVS-sprinkle-THEME-PL	hive-DAT	firm	
lagām-s ¹⁶⁶	x-o-sqēn-e-x ¹⁵⁸ ,		ži	jer	dōmnoš
n.d.base-DAT	1:to it-ExVS-make-THEME-PL		PV'	to	in no way
i-kwatunāl-d-ēd-s ¹⁶⁷ ,	i	xočām	mēžār-isga		
3:IVS-move-IF-CNJ-it	also	goodDAT	sunny-in		
jə-gem-x ¹⁶⁶ .	miž	xekwes ¹⁴⁰	mižlačād-ži		
PROTHETICS-stand-PL	sunNOM	must	sunrise-on		
x-e-čd-en-d-ēd-s ¹⁰⁹ .		γweb-i	āgi	licādune-s	
3:at it-ExVS-look-MD-IF-CNJ-it		hive-GEN	placeNOM	changing-DAT	
dēmyad	x-a-q-a ⁸⁶ ,		koťol	ka	
by no means	1:to it-"VS"-justify-RSL	a little	PV'		
likxe-s-ī,	ado	ečunyo	ešj-ār	min-e	
removing-DAT-also	otherwise	afterwards	that-PL.NOM	they-GEN	
γweb-s	deš	x-e-xw-a-x ¹⁶⁸ .	twi-s		
hive-DAT	not by any means	1:to it-ExVS-hit-RSL-PL	honey-DAT		

šwān-isga	limərje ¹⁶⁹	laday	i	liwčmāljlē
Svania-in	Marian(izing)	dayNOM.AV	also	ShrovetideNOM.AV
gar	x-o-qed-x ⁶⁹	mužywer	sga	
only	1:to it-ExVS-take-PL	autumnNOM.AV	PV'	
jə-g-āl-i-x ⁷¹		gwēdi	i	ṭebdi sadgwem ¹⁷⁰ -tēs
PROTHETICS-stand-ITER-THEME-PL		secluded	also	warm abode-into
i	ečēsga x-ō+g-x ⁷¹		xarābladay-w ¹⁷¹	ala
also	that+in 1:him-"ExVS"+stand-PL		AnnunciationDay-till	thisNOM
li	lupxw-s	i ež	laday	ka
is	spring-LOC/DAT	also	that	dayNOM.AV PV'
jə-g-āl-i-x ⁷¹ ,		laxe	xoča	ṭarwes li, lax
PROTHETICS-stand-ITER-THEME-PL		if	good	weatherNOM is if
ṭebdi	li i	suru	•mēcxi	mōd x-ā+r-x ⁹⁷
warmNOM	is also	redundantly	coldNOM	not 1:to it-"VS"+be-PL
yweb-īl-ār-s.	xarāb ¹⁷¹		x-e-x-ōl ¹⁶⁸	
hive-DIMIN-PL-DAT	AnnunciationNOM		2:to it-ExVS-hit"PASS"	
jerwešd-i-woxwišd	mārt-s	žwinel	šeld-ži.	
20-and-5	March-DAT	old	amount-on	

Apiaries and Looking after Them

Many people have apiaries in Svania, however, much honey is not obtained from a hive during the six months — bees have no work and only eat the honey. Besides, the hive is not big and does not contain many honeycombs. The Svans know that the first apiary was made in a forest by St. George of Lachash.

To make a hive, a short junk is split in two, and the pith is hollowed out leaving only thin walls of about 3 fingers width from here and there. If a hive swarms, the swarm is shaken out into a new hive. The upper part is sprinkled with whey, then a firm base is made to prevent it from moving and it is put in a fairly sunny place. The sun must shine on it at sunrise. Changing the place of a hive does not suit, nor moving it a little, since otherwise the bees cannot get into their hive. In Svania honey is taken out on Lady Day and Shrovetide, only. In autumn they set the hives in a warm nook where the hives stand for them till Annunciation Day. It is in spring, so that day they take them out (if the weather is good, if it is warm and not cold enough for the hives). The Annunciation fell on the 25th of March after the old calendar.

svanuri enis kresťomaťia, p. 132 (Ch. Gudjedjyan's version)

8.8. Ušgwłār i medukān Kutāš

Ašxwžin esnār ušgwłār ačādx lākmate. Šomwāle adhex sga Kutāšte, izelāl esnār duknārməqka. Ašxw dukānisga xočām lezob-letrad ži gweši liz. Ušgwłār yal masārd mājđār lix, leziz ču meštxe xār x i řemšaw čike dēsamagweš xatxēnax. Xosgdix al

xočām lezob-letra i pilārka lic xāgx. Sgāw, cxāj, meduknārs čigar xamtkwax liči i al medukāndi xākw ušgwłārs: mobržandi eser. Ušgwłārs loxwxaldax: āčs''eser mērēs mins al märe, i sg''āčādx. Medukān lāxčwedda: māj eser xāxux i im lezob išgwemx. Ušgwłārs ašxwłs xoxal zomšw kartwil, ečēnka dās. Aljārd, māj esama ču xōsdān medukāns, māj k''āxqidwnex; māj esama letre ču xōgān; alāj k''āxqidwnex, čw''asgurdax ašxw otāxisga i ču xārx keip. Medukāns ču mām xāžrawa: alamāg eser lezweb-letre k''āthodēna, i xwāj mogebas ānyli lādi. Ušgwłārs xambažx: imnār eser xāčmuni lādi al märe alamāg pātiws¹⁷²? Šom''eser oxtixex alamāg pātiws? Al''eser Šwāns nardw mērēs liz i ežya xāčo alamāg pātiws! K''ānherx medukān, āmzērix māj i maqwāms xaqlex lušnud. Medukān xeqwāmjēl, dabržandi dabržandis xaqle. Ušgwłār xaqlex: masārd eser čmaqopil lix ser, deš eser xājmedax ser lizweb-litre! Ser šomwāle z''anāgānx, k''āčādx dāxlteka i maqwāms xaqlex: minešt''eser hēsa ātqādēna, mājijēr¹⁷³ pātiws eser ču xāčomx. Medukānd warčxil xāsgwmin naxaršw. Ala aljārs atēmbažēnx: dos''eser xasma amžīn, čik''eser ka xoča i atxe pasw xešgwem! Xārx amži gāla-čxupa¹⁷⁴. Medukānd ašxw muwšgwłs ka loxwšwīr. Lājšgwin muwšgwild xanžār i ži xaqid medukāns i čw''akāč. Amčikka policijāj eshid, čw''adērmālex māj i učāstčate adjex. Amečūn lāxčwedda, gweš eser imžin lēmār. Ušgwłārd k''ōxumbawex, amži-i-amž''eser lēmār gweš: k''eser xoča min al māra i atx''eser warčxils xešgwem! Medukānd xākw: aljārs eser lezweb-letre loxwmamax i otšxamūnax, ašxw twes eser deš xahwdōlna māj ka, ežamāg eser lēmārli. Māj eser xārx mič al dāšdwār, ere aš do adbiznaj adšdēmālis, dw''eser ažay č''otkačax ža xanžaršw. Policijad ušgwłārs māmngweš xaqer, laxe gweš čw''ācxir, i medukāns xākw: imnār eser lēmčihwin, lax eser mins mōmngweš xošgwminax ečžin? I āgit''apišwd cārjel.

svanuri prozauli tēkstēbi, I, No 55

ušgwł-ār	i	medukān	kutāš(+*-s).	ašxwžin esnār
Ushgolian-PL.NOM	also	dukhanerNOM	Kutais(+LOC/DAT)	once as if
ušgwł-ār	a-čād-x		lākma-te.	šomwāle
Ushgolian-PL.NOM	11:PV-went-PL		addingish-to	some time
ad-h-e-x	sga	kutāš-te,	i-zelāl-x	esnār
11:PV-reach-AOR-PL	within	Kutais-to	1:IVS-walk-PL	as if
dukn-ār-məqka.	ašxw	dukān-iswa	xočām	lezob-letra-d
dukhan-PL-about	oneDAT	dukhan-in	good''DAT''	food''DAT''-drink-TFM
ži	gweši liz.	ušgwł-ār	yal	masārd mājđār
over full	is	Ushgolian-PL.NOM	what a pity!	very hungryNOM
li-x,	leziz	ču	meštxe	x-ā+r-x i
1:is-PL	wayishNOM	PV'	finishedNOM	1:him-''VS''+be-PL also
lemšaw	čike	dēsamagweš	x-a-tx-ēn-a-x.	
laborandumNOM	yet	nothingNOM	13:him-''NVS''-find-PRT.DM-RSL-PL	
x-o-sgd-i-x		al	xočām	lezob-letra i
1:to it-ExVS-see-THEME-PL		this''NOM''	goodDAT	food-drinkDAT also
pil-ār-ka	lic	x-ā+g-x.	sgāw,	cxāj,
lip-PL-out	waterNOM	1:on it-''VS''+stand-PL	inside	indeed

medukn-är-s čigar x-a-mtkw-a-x liçsi
 dukhaner-PL-DAT always 2:him-NVS-be accustomed-IF-PL invitingNOM
 i al medukän-d-i x-ä+kw¹⁴⁵
 also this"NOM" dukhaner-ERG-also 11:them-ExVS+said
 uşgwl-är-s: mobrjandi eser. uşgwl-är-s
 Ushgulian-PL-DAT Geor.:welcome said Ushgulian-PL-DAT
 lo+x+w-xal-da-x: ä+çs"eser mæres min-s
 11:PV+him+"ExVS"-know-IF-PL 1:NVP+invite+said probably they-DAT
 al märe, i sg"+ä-čäd-x. medukän
 this manNOM also PV'+11:PV-went-PL dukhanerNOM
 lä+x-čwed-da: mäj eser x-a-ku-x¹⁴⁰ i
 11:PV+them+ExVS-ask-IF whatNOM said 1:him-"VS"-want-PL also
 im lezob i-şgwm-x. uşgwl-är-s aşxw-il-s
 whatDAT foodDAT 1:IVS-request-PL Ushgulian-PL-DAT oneDAT-DIMIN-DAT
 x-o-xal zəməşw(=zumş) kartwil, ečən-ka dā+s.
 1:him-"ExVS"-know slightly GeorgianNOM thatDAT-out nobody+DAT
 alj-är-d, māj esama ču x-ō-sd-än
 this-PL-ERG RELwhatNOM if something PV' 2:him-ExVS-remain-MD
 medukän-s, māj k"+ä+x-qid-wn-e-x;
 dukhaner-DAT allABS/NOM PV'+11:PV+him+NVS-bring-CS-AOR-PL
 māj esama letre ču x-ō-g-än,
 RELwhatNOM if something drinkNOM PV' 2:him-ExVS-stand-MD
 alāj k"+ä+x-qid-wn-e-x,
 this+also PV'+11:PV+him+NVS-bring-CS-AOR-PL
 čw"+ta-sgur-da-x aşxw otāx-isga i ču x-ä+tr-x
 PV'+11:PV-seat-IF-PL oneDAT room-in also PV' 1:him-"VS"+be-PL
 keip. medukän-s ču mām x-a-şraw-a: alamäg
 partyNOM dukhaner-DAT PV' not 1:him-"VS"-believe-RSL so much
 eser lezweb-letre k"+ät-hod-ēn-a, i xwāj
 said food-drinkNOM PV'+13:PV-sell-PRT.MD-RSL also much
 mogeba-s än-yl-i lādi. uşgwl-är-s
 Geor.:profits-DAT 5:PV+ ExVS-wait-THEME to-day Ushgulian-PL-DAT
 x-a-mbaž-x: imnār eser x+ä+č(w)m-un-i¹¹⁴
 1:him-"VS"-surprise-PL why said 4:them+ExVS+make-FT-THEME
 lādi al märe alamäg pātiw-s^{172?} šom"+ēser
 to-day this manNOM so much honour-DAT when+said
 ox-řix-e-x alamäg pātiw-s^{172?} al"+ēser
 5:PV+him+ExVS-return-AOR-PL so much honour-DAT thisNOM+said
 šwän-s nardw mæres liz i eşya x-ä+čo
 Svania-LOC/DAT beenNOM probably is also therefore 1:them-ExVS+do
 alamäg pātiw-s^{172!} k"+än-her-x medukän,
 so much honour-DAT PV'+11:PV+IVS-called-PL dukhanerABS/NOM
 ä+mzər-i-x māj i maqwām-s x-a-gle-x¹⁴⁵
 1:NVS+bless-THEME-PL allNOM also thanks-DAT 1:him-ExVS-say-PL

lušnu-d. medukān x-e-qwāmjēl i dabržandi
 Svan-in dukhanerNOM ITER.1:them-ExVS-thank also Geor.:please
 dabržandi-s x-a-qle. ušgwł-ār x-a-qle-x:
 please-DAT 1:them-ExVS-say Ushgulian-PL.NOM 1:him-ExVS-say-PL
 masārd eser kmaqopil li-x ser, deš eser
 very said Geor.:satisfied 1:is-PL already not by any means said
 x-ā+jmeda-x ser lizweb-litre! ser šomwāle
 1:him-"VS"+can-PL already eating-drinkingNOM already some time
 ž"+an-ēg-ān-x, k"+ā-čād-x dāxl-teka
 PV'+11:PV-stand up-PRT.MD-PL PV'+11:PV-went-PL Geor.:counter-up to
 i maqwām-s x-a-qle-x: min-eš-t"+ēser hēsa
 also thanks-DAT 1:him-ExVS-say-PL they-GEN-to+said if
 āt-qād-ēna, māgijēr¹⁷³ pātiw-s eser ču
 7:PV+him+ExVS-came-SF.COND corresponding honour-DAT said PV'
 x-ā+čom-x. medukān-d warčxil x-a-šgwmin
 1:him-ExVS+do-PL dukhaner-ERG moneyABS/NOM 11:them-ExVS-request
 naxaršw. ala alj-ār-s
 Geor.:spentABS/NOM thisNOM this-PL-DAT
 at-ə-mbaž-ən-x: dos"+ēser
 11:PV+him-GLIDE-s surprise-PRT.MD-PL nobody ever+said
 x-a-sm-a amžīn, čik"+ēser ka x-o-čs-a
 1:him-"VS"+hear-RSL thus time+said PV' 13:him-"ExVS"+invite-RSL
 i atxe pasw x-e-šgwem! x-ā+r-x am-ži
 also now priceDAT 1:them-ExVS-request 1:him-"VS"+be-PL this-on
 gala-čxupa¹⁷⁴. medukān-d ašxw mu(w)šgwil-s ka
 (speech-scuffle)quarrelNOM dukhaner-ERG oneDAT Ushgulian-DAT PV'
 lo+x+w-žwīr. lā+tj-šgwin mu(w)šgwil-d
 11:PV+him+ExVS-grasp 11:PV+IVS-took out Ushgulian-ERG
 xanžār i ži x-a-qid¹²¹ medukān-s i
 daggerABS/NOM also PV' 11:him-ExVS-hit(a blow) dukhaner-DAT also
 čw"+a-kāč. amčikka policijā+tj es-hīd,
 PV'+11:PV-cut at this time policeNOM+also 11:PV-be in time
 čw"+ad-ə-rmāl-e-x māg i učasťka-te
 PV'+11:PV-GLIDE-catch-AOR-PL allABS/NOM also Russ.:uchástok-to
 adj-e-x⁸⁰. amečūn lā+x-čwed-da-x, gweš eser
 11:PV-take-AOR-PL here 11:PV+them+ExVS-ask-IF-PL affairNOM said
 imžīn ləmār? ušgwł-ār-d k"+ō+x+u-mbaw-e-x,
 how 8:been Ushgulian-PL-ERG PV'+11:PV+them+ExVS-tell-AOR-PL
 amži-i-amž"+ēser ləmār gweš: k"+ēser
 thus-also-thus+said 8:been affairNOM PV'+said
 x-o-čs-a min al māra i atx"+ēser
 13:him-"ExVS"+invite-RSL themselvesNOM this manDAT also now+said

warčxil-s	x-e-šgwem!	medukän-d	x-ä+kw:
money-DAT	1:them-ExVS-request	dukhaner-ERG	11:them-ExVS+said
alj-är-s	eser	lezweb-letre	lo+x+w-mam-a-x
this-PL-DAT	said	food-drinkNOM	13:PV+him+"ExVS"-eat-RSL-PL
i	ot-šxamün-a-x,	ašxw	twe-s
also	13:PV+him+"ExVS"-poison-RSL-PL	oneDAT	Geor.:month-LOC/DAT
eser	deš	x-a-hwd-öl-na	māg ka,
said	not by any means	8:him-NVS-sell-PASS-SF	allNOM PV'out
ešamāg	eser ləmār-li.	māj	eser x-ä+r-x mič al
as much	said 8:been-is	whatNOM	said 1:him-"VS"+be-PL him this
dāšdw-är,	ere aš	do	ad-biz-na-j
bear-PL.NOM	that	so gratis	then 7:PV-satiate-SF-also
ad-šdēmāl-is,	dw"+ēser	ašay	č"+ot-kač-a-x
7:PV-become drunk-SF	then+said	else	PV'+13:PV+him+ExVS-stab-RSL-PL
ša	xanšar-šw.	policija-d	ušgwł-är-s
himselfNOM	dagger-INST	police-ERG	Ushgulian-PL-DAT
x-a-ger ¹¹⁴ ,	laxe	gweš	čw"+ä+cxir i
11:them-NVS-did	when	affairABS/NOM	PV'+11:PV+cleared up also
medukän-s	x-ä+kw:	imnār	eser ləmçihwin, lax eser
dukhaner-DAT	11:him-ExVS+said	how	said 8:(has)invited if said
min-s	mōmgweš	x-o-šgwmin-a-x	eč-žin?
them-DAT	nothing at allNOM	13:him-"ExVS"-request-RSL-PL	than-about
i	āgit"+	a-pišwd	cārjel.
also	home+	11:PV-let	Geor.:emptyABS/NOM

Ushgulians and a Dukhaner in Kutaisi

Once upon a time some Ushgulians went to replenish supplies. After a while they got to Kutaisi, and here they are walking about dukhans. One dukhan is (over)full of fine food and drinks. Ill luck would have it, the Ushgulians are very hungry but their travelling allowance is over and no job found yet. They are looking at this fine food and drinks and their mouths are watering. At all times dukhaners used to invite people in, indeed, the same did this dukhaner saying to them, "Welcome!" The Ushgulians reasoned that in all likelihood that man had invited them, and they went in. The dukhaner asked what they wanted and what food requested. One of the Ushgulians spoke a little Georgian, the others did not. They told the dukhaner to bring them all whatever remained to him, to bring them drinks whatever he had. They sat down in a separate room and began a party. The dukhaner hardly believed he had sold so much food and drinks, and expected large profits that day. The Ushgulians wondered why that man was showing them so much honour that day: when they should return him so much honour! Perhaps he had been in Svania and therefore was showing them so much honour. They called the dukhaner, all blessing him and saying to him thanks in Svan. The dukhaner thanks and says. "Please!

Please!" The Ushgulians tell him they are very satisfied, not able to eat and drink more. As they finally stood up and went to the counter, they kept thanking: if he came to them, they would show him corresponding honour. The dukhaner requested the money due. This amazed them: nobody has ever heard so, first to invite and then request a payment! And they are quarreling about it. The dukhaner grasped one of the Ushgulians, the Ushgulian drew his dagger, stabbed the dukhaner and wounded him. Here were the police just in time. They arrested all and took them to the office. They questioned them there how the matter had happened. The Ushgulians told, "So and so": the man had invited them and then requested a payment! The dukhaner said those people had eaten and spoiled so much food and drink, all that could not be usually sold during a month, and who those bears were to him that they not only had gorged themselves [with the food] and got soused for free, but in return had wounded him with a dagger! After clearing the affair up, the police did nothing to the Ushgulians but said to the dukhaner, "Why on earth have you invited them in if they were not asking for anything at all?", and they let him go empty-handed.

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8.9. Koruldsi bälwän

Koruldsi bälwän ečkälib mezge ləmär, ere mämä şwim. Şukwdi baż xadēna, ləčāš abāzs xākđinaj lukwejits jarw şawurs. Үən-mayən Hādışte xāra. Aşxw lēt kor-gweşi mäg Hādış ləmārdx laskārs i kors eşxu zurāl gar xardēna. Şukwzi žāh axkwecax i mäg čw"aldāwšēlix. Eč zaw ləcobī gun ləmār i kor girkid gim mäg k"ättqeca. Ečunyo wod-i-wod korī ču ləmgēn i atxe murqwmī jir i eči ādgil gar cwir. Ešgwāj mezge dēsa ləmzig gušgwēj qewisga.

Xeškildi bälwän eser axmėkrēna i xoçh" ēža mič Koruldāšte. Išgwid ləngāz yun otjiha. Bārg-nabārg mäg k"oxšəldanax i aşxw bergwš xoš"ēser xardēna Koruldsi bälwāns. Ečnoš eser otsera. Xeškildi bälwāns eser otjiha i ečas qwič eser xardēna gimunču, lanşgas, eč"ēser otjihaj, yuni mägijēr eser ləmār. Māj xeşwes ləmār-lāsw ečkälib, mare şyəd nakəbd mir otjiha i čūj şyəd ləmār. Mewar eser xambžēna eč gwiči gweš Koruldsi bälwāns.

Silo Pawlē gezal Guşeşjān, 56 ləzāj, məmlāx. 1964 z.

korulds-i ¹⁷⁵	bälwän ¹⁷⁶	ečkälib(= ečkälib)	mezge ¹⁷⁷
Koruldash-GEN	rich manNOM	of that kind	dweller(family)NOM
ləmār,	ere	mämä	şwim.
8:been	that	no	equal
x-a-d-ēn-a,			şukw-d-ī ¹⁰¹
8(13):to it-NVS-put-PRT.MD-RSL		ləčāš-s ¹⁷⁸	baż
x-ā+kd-ina-j ⁶⁹		abāz-s ¹⁷⁹	abaz-DAT
8:him-ExVS+take-SF-also	lukwejit-s ¹⁸⁰	jarw	şawur-s ¹⁷⁹
şən-mayən hādış-te	pedestrian-DAT	twoDAT	şaur-DAT
feastNOM	x-ā+r-a.	aşxw	lēt
Hadish-to	8:him-"VS"+be-RSL	oneLOC/DAT	night"NOM".AV

kor-gweši mäg hädiš(+*-s) ləmārd-x laskār-s
 house-fullNOM allNOM Hadish(+LOC/DAT) 8:existed-PL prayish-DAT
 i kor-s ešxu zurāl gar
 also house-LOC/DAT oneNOM womanNOM only
 x-a-rd-ēn-a. šuḵw-ži žāh
 8(13):them-NVS-exist-PRT.MD-RSL road-on avalancheNOM
 a-x-kwec-a-x i mäg čw"+aldāwšēli-x.
 13:PV-him-cut short-RSL-PL also allNOM PV'+13:spoiled+is-PL
 eč zaw ləcob-ī¹⁸¹ gun ləmār i kor
 that yearLOC/DAT floodNOM-also pluriously 8:been also houseDAT
 girḵid gim mäg k"+āt-tḡec-a.
 round earthNOM allNOM PV'+13:PV+to it-disintegrate-RSL
 ečun-ḡo wod-i-wod kor-ī ču ləmgen i atxe
 thatDAT-after till-and-till houseNOM-also PV' 8:stood also now
 murḡwm-i 3ir i eči ādgil gar
 tower-GEN rootNOM also its(that+GEN) placeNOM only
 cwir. eḡḡwāj mezge¹⁷⁷ dēsa ləmzig
 1:is remaining of that sortNOM familyNOM not 8:dwelted
 guḡḡwēj¹⁸³ qew-isga. xešḡild-i bālwan eser
 our and your gorge-in Khesḡild-GEN rich manNOM said
 a-x-məkr-ēn-a i x-o-čh"+ ēḡa
 8:PV-him-compete-PRT.MD-RSL also 13:him-"ExVS"-invite+ thatNOM
 mič koruldāš-te. iḡwid ləngāz¹⁸⁴ ḡun
 himselfDAT Koruldash-to sevenNOM weeky calfNOM
 ot-ḡih-a. bārg-nabārg mäg
 13:PV+him+"ExVS"-slaughter-RSL furnitureNOM allNOM
 k"+to-x-šəldan-a-x i ašxw berg-wš xoš"+ēser
 PV'+13:him+"ExVS"-count-RSL-PL also oneDAT hoe-INST more+said
 x-a-rd-ēn-a koruldš-i bālwan-s. ečnoš
 8(13):him-NVS-exist-PRT.MD-RSL Koruldash-GEN rich man-DAT thatINST
 eser ot-ser-a. xešḡild-i bālwan-s
 said 13:PV+him+"ExVS"-outstrip-RSL Khesḡild-GEN rich man-DAT
 eser ot-ḡih-a i eča-s(=eḡa-s) ḡwič eser
 said 13:PV+him-"ExVS"-invite-RSL also that-DAT cockNOM said
 x-a-rd-ēn-a gim-un-ču, lanḡqa-s,
 8(13):him-NVS-exist-PRT.MD-RSL earth-DAT-under feedingish-DAT
 eḡ"+ēser ot-ḡih-a-j, ḡun-i
 that+said 13:PV+him+"ExVS"-slaughter-RSL-also calf-GEN
 mägijēr eser ləmār. māj xekwes ləmār-I-āsw¹⁸⁵
 correspondingNOM said 8:been whatNOM must 8:been-2:it-was
 ečḡālib, mare ḡḡəd nakəb-d mir
 of that kindNOM but great praise-TFM (some)thingNOM

ot-jih-a		i	čū+j	zyəd	ləmār.
13:PV+him+''ExVS''-slaughter-RSL		also	PV'+also	greatNOM	8:been
mewar	eser	x-a-mbž-ēn-a		ež	gwič-i
very	said	8(13):him-NVS-wonder-PRT.MD-RSL		that	cock-GEN
gweš		koruldš-i	bālwan-s.		
affairNOM		Koruldash-GEN	rich man-DAT		

A Rich Man of Koruldash

The Koruldash rich man's was such a family, to which no equal may be possible. A tax was set for the road: he took one abaz from a horseman and two shaurs from a pedestrian passer-by. He appeared to have practised Church feasts in Hadish. One night all the household were in Hadish for praying and only one woman was staying at home. While coming back, an avalanche crashed down and ruined them all. Floods also took place that year in plenty, so that all the soil round his house disintegrated. The house has been still standing for some time but now there is only the base of the tower¹⁸² and the very place left. No family of that sort has ever lived in our gorge [since].

The rich man of Kheschkild is said to have competed with him, and he himself is said to have invited the latter to Koruldash. He slaughtered a seven-week calf. All the furniture was counted up and the rich man of Koruldash appeared to have one hoe more, and he won due to it. The rich man of Kheschkild seems to have had invited him in his turn. He kept a cock in his cellar, to be fattened. He killed it and it appeared to be as big as a calf. It must have been of that kind if it was killed with such a solemnity, and really it seems to have been so big. The rich man of Koruldash is said to have been very much wondering at the case of that cock.

Silo Gudjedjyan, Paule's son, 56 years old, Mulakhian, 1964.

8.10. Gzāwrāl i Āmiran

Ašxwži jerwāle gzāwrāl eser atkadax ež kožtežē, imwāj eser Āmiran i dāw xābx. Atxīda rok Āmirans, imž''eser xāxjad mič qgəljān amswāldəlā kwin i eči liçed. Māj rok dwrew li kweqanaži, imži larda rok li. Amžī amži limzir, Krisde Yērbet rok xançamx i xašdba rok mäg, aqni i alāši. Woša rok xaşda lekwəri yärču kwecnä qaklär? Kwecnä qaklär eser xwāj, nənsa qarwa yet eser çu yəri. Jayo, miča čikka rok semi qaklär gar xaşkəda. Rogwā qaklär rok imži xaşkdax? I rog eserī xwāj, jōri šiqwil eser mād xesqədi. Miča čikka rok rog çu lepsküre ləmār i ečzi rok lumpišwdinx. Pətw rok māzum li jede māzum rok yəri lekwərču? Pətw eser necin li gun i ež''eser hədurd xopširāj xaşkəda. Žihr''eser ārima, xāg eser ma žihrāl? Žihr''eser māj mōd irdi, xwāj eser žihra. O, ečšeld kəš āri kweqanažē, wošeld eser žihra xāg.

Mamul Margjān, 60 ləzāj, məmlāx. 1965 z.

gzāwr-āl	i	āmiran.	ašxw-ži	jerwāle	gzāwr-āl
wanderer-PL.NOM	also	AmiranNOM	oneDAT-on	some	wanderer-PL.NOM

eser at-kad-a-x eṣ ʔoṣ-te-žē, imwāj
 said 13:him-err-RSL-PL that cliff-to-on+PTCnamely RELwhere
 eser āmiran i dāw x-āb-x.
 said AmiranNOM also deveNOM 1:to it-NVS-tie-PL
 at-xīd-a rok āmiran-s, imž''+eser
 13:PV+him+''NVS''-glad-RSL said Amiran-DAT how+said
 x-ā+xjād mič ʔgəljān amswāld-əl-ā
 1:him-''NVS''+be glad himselfDAT saint human being-DIMIN-GEN
 kwin i eči ličed. māj rok dwrew li kwegana-ži,
 smellNOM also thatGEN seeingNOM what said timeNOM is earth-on
 imži larda rok li. amži amži limzir, krisde
 how existenceNOM said is thus+also thus prayingNOM Christ
 yērbet rok x-a-ŋcam-x i x-a-šdba
 GodNOM said 1:him(them)-NVS-believe-PL also 1:at it-NVS-work
 Rok mäg, a-qn-i i a-lāš-i. woša
 said allNOM 1:NVS-plough-THEME also 1:NVS-sow-THEME how many
 rok x-a-sḳd-a lekwēr-i yār-ču kwecn-ā
 said 1:to it-NVS-go in-RFL mill-GEN wooden duct-under wheat-GEN
 ʔaḳl-ār? kwecn-ā ʔaḳl-ār eser xwāj, nənsa
 grain-PL.NOM wheat-GEN grain-PL.NOM said many middle
 ʔarwa yet eser ču yər-i. jayo, miča
 1-2kg grainNOM almost said PV' 1:go-THEME PTCsee his(thatGEN)
 čik-ka rok semi ʔaḳl-īd gar x-a-sḳēd-a.
 time-out said three grain-DIMIN.NOM only 13:to it-''VS''-go in-RSL
 rogw-ā ʔaḳl-ār rok imži x-a-sḳd-a-x? i
 bean-GEN grain-PL.NOM said how 1:to it-NVS-go in-RSL-PL also
 rog eser-i xwāj, jōri šiqwil eser mād
 beanNOM said-also many two handfultNOM said not
 x-e-sḳēd-i miča čik-ka rok rog ču
 4:to it-''VS''-go in-MD his time-out said beanNOM PV'
 lepsḳüre ləmār i eč-ži rok lumpišwdin-x.
 pounded-to-beNOM 8:been also that-on said 8:let-PL
 pāṭw rok māzum li jede māzum rok
 milletNOM said of what size is or of what size said
 yər-i lekwēr-ču? pāṭw eser necin li gun i
 1:go-THEME mill-under milletNOM said thinNOM is very also
 eṣ''+ēser hādurd xopširā+j x-a-sḳd-a. žihr''+ēser
 it+said quite more+also 1:to it-NVS-go in-RSL oak+said
 ā+r+ti-ma, x-ā+g eser
 NVS+exist+THEME-PTC.IRG 1:on it(earth)-''VS''(on)+stand said
 ma žihrāi? žihr''+ēser māj mōd i-rd-i, xwāj eser
 PTC.IRG oak+PL oak+said what not 4:''VS''-exist-MD many said

ʒihra.	o,	ečšeld	kāʒ	ā+r+i	kwegana-žē,
oakNOM	oh	as many	horned devilNOM	NVS+exist-THEME	earth-on+PTC
wošeld	eser	ʒihra	x-ā+g.		
so many	said	oakNOM	1:on it-"VS"+stand		

Travellers and Amiran¹⁸⁶

Once upon a time several travellers went astray, namely up to the cliff, to which Amiran and the deve are said to have been tied. Amiran appeared to be glad, he said he was gladdened by the holy man's soul and by seeing him:

"What is the situation on earth, how is life?"

"So and so are the rites", they said, "the people believe in Christ, the God, all are working, ploughing and sowing."

"How many wheat grains go in under the mill(stone)'s duct?"

"Many wheat grains go, almost half a karwa goes."

"You see! In my time only three small grains went in! And how (many) bean grains go in?"

"Bean grains also go in many, only two handfuls will not."

"In my time bean grains were first to be pounded and then poured. Of what size is the millet, that is, how much of it goes in under the millstone?"

"Millet grains are very small and thus far more goes in."

"Are oaks still existing? Are there oaks growing on earth?"

"Oaks, why not would they exist, there are many oaks. Oh, there are so many oaks standing, as horned devils living on earth."

Mamul Margyan, 60 years old, Mulakhian, 1965.

8.11.1. Jār lix aljārisga malqamše?

Ašxw ʒuɣwā pils qān ləmgen i ašxw pilxān sgwebne čəšxār xāgnēna i mērme pilxān — ɣwešgmeš, ečizum ləmārli i ɬand al qān. Anqād imwālxān werb, z"espxič" āl qanw i eš laxkarwe. Ašxw āgis boɬa ləmārd. Ečizum ču ləmār, ere leʒweg i meʒweg xolām dārʒin māg eči wera čukwāntēsga ləmāz lasimd. Werb esnār al boɬa mučwārʒin esāgān i qān amezin ču lalēm. Lādjārālʒin werbs esnār qāni barʒ č"oxšqād i al barʒʒin ešxu xoša sopol eszigān. Al sopers māl āxmitkwān i ečizum ču l"ere al xošām sopers māj leʒa xāčo qōrlaqwras i māj lekwa. Anqād sopol i māl čw"adgār. Sg"āxčwādx murgwāl sopol, mare ka dēnte mōš āspex i ču deš adɬupūrex. Anqād ešxu zurāl, loxwreḱ čeri i ašwxān leʒa k"āxɬupūre ɬup, wišdwš k"ādsipe mērmate i mērmaxāni k"adɬupūre i ečkānɣo ʒ"ānkid ɬup, čit" ādsipane, mare miča bepšwi lepgūri ka deš axpase. Amʒin quruxānʒin šdugwd anškine, xapxeč mālā ʒwers i čkwām aš laxkarwe quručün, mare miča činčlārs twit nāpud deš axādx. Jār ləmār x aljārisga mašēne ləqmāš?

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jār	li-x	alj-ār-isga	malqamše?	ašxw ¹⁸⁷	ʒuɣwā
whoNOM	is-PL	this-PL-in	the strongestNOM	oneGEN	seaGEN

pil-s qān ləmgen i ašxw pil-xān sgwebne¹⁸⁸
 shore-LOC/DAT oxNOM 8:stood also oneDAT shore-from front
 čəšx-ār x-ä+g+n+ēn-a i mērme¹⁸⁹
 leg-PL 8(13):to it-"VS"+stand+THEME+PRT.MD-RSL also other""NOM"
 pil-xān - ywešgmeš¹⁸⁸, ečizum(=ežzum) ləmār-li i ʔan-d
 shore-from backNOM of that size 8:been-is also body-TFM
 al qān. an-qād imwāla-xān werb,
 this oxNOM 11:PV-came somewhere-from eagleNOM
 ž""+es-pxič""+āl qanw i eš la-x-karw-e.
 PV'+11:PV-seize+AOR+this oxDAT also so 11:PV-to it-remove-AOR
 ašxw āgi-s boʔa ləmārd. ečizum ču
 oneDAT place-LOG/DAT he-goatNOM 8:existed of that size PV'
 ləmār, ere leʒweg i meʒweg xolām dār-žin mäg
 8:been that herdNOM also herdsmanNOM badDAT weather-on allNOM
 eči werā čukwān-tēsga ləmāz lasim-d.
 thatGEN beard under-into 8:come for keeping the rain out-TFM
 werb esnār al boʔā mučw-ār-žin es-ä+g-ān
 eagleNOM as if this he-goatGEN horn-PL-on 11:PV-NVS+stand-PRT.MD
 i qān ču la-l-ēm. lādjarāl-žin werb-s esnār
 also oxABS/NOM PV' 11:PV-he-eat eating-on eagle-DAT as if
 qān-i barš č""+ox-šqād i al
 ox-GEN shoulder-bladeABS/NOM PV'+11:PV+to it+ExVS-fall also this
 barš-žin ešxu xoša sopel es-zig-ān¹⁷⁷. al
 shoulder-blade-on one big villageNOM 11:PV-dwell-PRT.MD this
 sopel-s māl ā+x-mitkw-ān i
 village-DAT foxNOM 11:PV+to it+IVS-get accustomed to-PRT.MD also
 ečizum ču l""+ēre al xošām sopel-s māj leža
 of that size PV' is+that this bigDAT village-DAT whatNOM eastwards
 x-ä+čo qōr-laqwra-s i māj lekwa. an-qād
 1:to it-ExVS+do door-window-DAT also whatNOM westwards 11:PV-came
 sopel i māl čw""+ad-gār¹¹⁰.
 villageNOM also foxABS/NOM PV'+11:PV-kill
 sg""+āx-čwād-x murgwāl sopel, mare ka
 PV'+11:PV+to it+ExVS-beset-PL rounded villageNOM but PV'
 dēnte mōš ā+sp-e-x i ču deš
 to nowhere separate 1:NVS+turn-THEME-PL also PV' not by any means
 ad-ʔupūr-e-x. an-qād ešxu zurāl,
 11:PV+NVS-skin-AOR-PL 11:PV-came one womanNOM
 loč+w-reč čeri i
 11:PV+to it+ExVS-tuck under wooden spindleABS/NOM also
 aš(x)w-xān leža k""+āx-ʔupūr-e ʔup,
 one-from upward PV'+11:PV+to it+NVS-skin-AOR skinABS/NOM

wiṣd-wṣ	k''+ād-sip-e	mērma-te	i	mērma-xān-i
kick-INST	PV'+11:PV+NVS-turn-AOR	otherDAT-to	also	other-from-also
k''+ād-ṭupūr-e	i	ečkān-γo	ž''+ān-ḱid	
PV'+11:PV+NVS-skin-AOR	also	then-after	PV'+11:PV+IVS-take	
ṭup,	čī-t''+ād-sīpan-e,	mare	miča	bepšw-i
skinABS/NOM	all-to+11:PV-turn round-AOR	but	thatGEN	child-GEN
lepqūr-i	ka deš	a-x-pas-e.		
for cap-also	PV' not by any means	11:PV-to it-(make)become-AOR		
am-žin	quru-xān-žin	šdugw-d	an-skin-e,	x-a-pxeč
this-on	hole-from-on	mouse-ERG	11:PV-jump-AOR	11:to it-NVS-seized
māl-ā	3wer-s	i	čkwām	aš
fox-GEN	flesh-DAT	also	momently	so
quru-čün,	mare	miča	činčl-ār-s	twit
hole-down	but	thatGEN	mousy-PL-DAT	one apiece
deš	a-x-ād-x.	jār	lēmār-x	
not by any means	11:PV-them-sufficient-PL	whoNOM	8:been-PL	
alj-ār-ışga	mašēne	ləqmāš?		
this-PL-in	mostNOM	strongNOM		

Which of Them are the Strongest?

An ox was standing by a sea, with the fore feet on one shore and the hind feet on the other, of such a size and appearance was this ox! An eagle came down from somewhere, seized the ox and carried it away. There was a goat in some land. This goat was of such a size that an ox herd with the herdsman all together used to hide themselves under its beard to keep the rain out in bad weather. The eagle appears to have perched on the horns of this goat and to have eaten the ox there. While the eagle was eating, the ox's shoulder-blade seems to have fallen down, and a big village settled on this shoulder-blade. A fox began to frequent this village, and it was of such a size that it turned the front and back of the village now to the east and now to the west. The villagers came and killed the fox. All of them surrounded it but did not move it a bit, nor could they skin it. A woman came, tucked a wooden spindle under it and skinned it from the upper side. She overturned it with a kick and skinned it from the other side. Then she took the skin, rolled it on all sides but it was not sufficient even for her child's cap. At that moment a mouse jumped out of a hole. It seized the fox's flesh and in a trice carried it away down the hole. However, even one piece apiece was not sufficient for its little ones. Which of them appear to have been the strongest?

svanuri enis krestomaṭia, No 179

8.11.2. Imeg āri eṣxu qān. Zuγw''ečxen lardad xaḱu, zuγw'' amxen laqwrad. Anqād aṣxw ladeγ eṣxu werb, ž''ānḱid a qān i adje. Aṣxw mindorlisga mežegs xeḱād žeg i am mežegiš piḱwiš mēčārži esgurda ləqand al werb. Al piḱwiš čukwa k''āri hedurd andaw i žeg māg lankejird. Eṣxu andaw k''ānsgidiw piḱw čukwaxenka. Amži werbs

leqšdān pxətlān oxšqād i naɣwzurs tete otšqād. Anqādx andawa i lawxijāršw i tgenāršw k''oxkidx. Am pxətlānzi ešdori mezge eszigān. Al sopels āxmitkwān ešxu mal i letšw isgaxebergi i ž''āspune pxətlāns, qor xarx, ešte laqwrols xečo. Osdaržex ašxw let ču al mezgoid i čw''adgarx mal. Merma ladeɣ aɣmurex al mals. Ašxwen lekwa k''adɣumurex. Atxe mermaxen ži lispe xakuč, mare deš āspex i isg'' āxšədx māg xoša i xoxwra. Mare ežɣaj ži deš ansipex. Ser luɣmurexen lekwaš ɣup k''axkwicx. K''axkwicx i hedurd am sopliš xošem i xoxrem paɣw i keš čimi k''āxpas. Ašxw ladeɣ anyri ešxu zural. Naɣwzur ži xačitx. Ālte ežži anyri ameleža. Xečād al malws i loxreɣ čeri i žitə. ɣu essipe. Axtɣwim ka i miča naɣwzuriš paɣw deš āxpas.

Aɣwe, muhwnara, gud emoš qednid, jār li amārisga mašene xoša: qāna, werba, piɣwa, andawa, māla, zurala, miča gezal?

svanuri enis krestomaɣia, No 233

imeg	āri	ešxu	qān.	zuɣw''teč-xen	larda-d
where	is	oneNOM	oxNOM	sea+that-from	livingish-TFM
x-a-ku,		zuɣw''+am-xen	laɣwra-d.	an-qād	ašxw
1:to it-''VS''-want		sea+this-from	lyingish-TFM	11:PV-came	oneDAT
ladeɣ	ešxu	werb,	ž''+ān-ɣid	a	qān
dayNOM.AV	oneNOM	eagleNOM	PV'+11:PV+IVS-take	this	oxABS/NOM
i	ad-je ⁸⁰	ašxw	mindor-i-isga		mežeg-s
also	11:PV-take away-AOR	oneDAT	field-DIMIN-in		herdsman-DAT
x-e-ɣ-ā-d ³⁶		žeg	i	am ⁸¹	mežeg-iš
2:him-''VS''-have-PRT.MD-IF	herdNOM	also	this	herdsman-GEN	goat-GEN
məč-ār-ži ¹⁹⁰	esgur-da		ləqan-d	al	werb.
horn-PL-on	11:PV+sit down-IF		for oxing-TFM	this	eagleNOM
piɣw-iš	čukwa	k''+āri	hedurd	andaw	i
goat-GEN	under	PV'+1:be(enough)	quite	shepherdNOM	also
māg	lankejird.	ešxu	andaw	k''+ān-sgid-iw	piɣw
allNOM	refreshingish	one	shepherdNOM	PV'+11:PV-glance-IF	goat
čukwa-xenka.	am-ži	werb-s	ləqšdān	pxətlān	
under-out of	this-on	eagle-DAT	pickedNOM	shoulder-bladeNOM	
ox-šqād ¹⁹¹		i	naɣwzur-s	te-te	ot-šqād ¹⁹¹
11:PV+to it+ExVS-fall	also	youth-DAT	eye-to	11:PV+into it+ExVS-fall	
an-qād-x	andaw-a		i	laxwijār-šw	i
11:PV-came-PL	shepherd-PL.NOM	also	spade+PL-INST		also
tgen-ār-šw	k''+ox-ɣid-x.		am ⁸¹		
stick-PL-INST	PV'+11:PV+to it+ExVS-take-PL		this		
pxətlān-ži	ešdori	mezge	es-zig-ān.		al
shoulder-blade-on	12	farmNOM	11:PV-dwell-PRT.MD	this	
sopel-s	ā+x-mitkw-ān		ešxu	mal	
village-DAT	11:PV+to it+IVS-get accustomed to-PRT.MD		one	foxNOM	
i	let-šw	isga	x-e-berg-i	i	ž''+ā+sp-un-e
also	night-TFM	PV'	1:to it-ExVS-seize-MD	also	PV'+1:NVS+turn-CS-THEME

pxətlān-s, gor x-a-r-x, ešte
 shoulder-blade-DAT doorNOM 1:to it-"VS"-be-PL to there
 laqwrol-s x-e-čo. os-darǰ-e-x
 window+PL-DAT 1:to it-ExVS-do 11:PV+to it+ExVS-watch for-AOR-PL
 ašxw let ču al mezgol-d i čw"+ad-gār-x
 oneDAT nightNOM.AV PV' this family+PL-ERG also PV'+11:PV-kill-PL
 mal. merma ladeǰ a-ṭmur-e-x al mal-s.
 foxABS/NOM secondDat dayNOM.AV 1:NVS-skin-THEME-PL this fox-DAT
 ašxwen lekwa k"+ad-ṭmur-e-x, atxe merma-xen
 oneDAT+from downward PV'+11:PV+NVS-skin-AOR-PL now otherDAT-from
 ǰi lispe x-a-ku-x, mare deš
 PV' turningNOM 1:him-"VS"-want-PL but not by any means
 ä+sp-e-x i äx-šə-d-x mäg
 1:NVS+turn-THEME-PL also PV'+1:PV+to it+ExVS-handle-PL allNOM
 xoša i xoxwra. mare eǰya-j ǰi deš
 bigNOM also smallNOM but because of it-also PV' not by any means
 an-sip-e-x. ser luṭmure-xen lekwaš¹⁹² ṭup
 11:PV+NVS-turn-AOR-PL already skinned-from downwardal skinABS/NOM
 k"+ax-kwic-x. k"+axkwicx i hedurd am⁸¹
 PV'+11:PV+to it+ExVS-cut short-PL 11 also quite this
 soṭl-iš xošem i xoxrem paq̄w i keš čimi
 village-GEN bigGEN also smallGEN capNOM also coatNOM of all
 k"+äx-pas. ašxw ladeǰ an-yr-i¹⁰⁷
 PV'+11:PV+of it+ExVS-become oneDAT dayNOM.AV 1:PV-come-THEME
 ešxu zural. naṭwžur ǰi x-a-čitx. ä-lte
 oneNOM womanNOM boyNOM PV' 1:her-"VS"-cubit 1:NVS+spin
 eǰ-ǰi an-yr-i ame-leža. x-e-čäd¹⁰⁹
 that-on 1:PV-come-THEME here-up 11:of it-ExVS-to catch sight
 al malw-s i lox-reḳ čeri
 this fox-DAT also 11:PV+to it+ExVS-tuck under spindleABS/NOM
 i ǰibā+j-ču es-sipe. a-x-ṭwim ka
 also up+also-down 11:PV+NVS-turn-AOR 11:PV+to it(+NVS)-strip PV'
 i miča naṭwžur-iš paq̄w deš
 also thatGEN child-GEN capNOM not by any means
 äx-pas. aṭwe, muhwnar+a, gu-d em+oš
 11:PV+of it+ExVS-become and now listener+PL heart-TFM this+INST
 qed-ni-d¹⁰⁷, jār li am-ār-isga mašene xoša: qān-a,
 5:come-MD-PL whoNOM is this-PL-in moqstNOM bigNOM ox-PTC.ERG
 werb-a, piḳw-a, andaw-a, mal-a, zural-a, miča gezal?
 eagle-ERG goat-ERG shepherd-ERG fox-ERG woman-ERG thatGEN sonNOM

There is an ox somewhere. He has to live beyond the sea and to sleep on this side of the sea. One day an eagle came [down], took the ox and carried it away. On one field a herdsman had an ox herd, and the eagle perched on the horns of this herdsman's goat to eat the ox. Under this goat all shepherds and the herd (may) have enough

room to refresh themselves. One shepherd cast a glance from below the goat. At that moment a picked shoulder-blade fell down from the eagle and got into the boy's eye. The other shepherds came and pulled it out with boughs and spades. Twelve farms settled on this shoulder-blade. A fox began to frequent this village seizing and turning the shoulder-blade night by night, making windows, where the village had doors. One night villagers watched for the fox and killed it. The next day they are skinning the fox. They skinned it from the west and now are going to overturn it on the other side but cannot turn it. So they all together, big and small, set with their feet against it, but they could not turn it in this way either. Then they cut off only the western part of the skin. They cut it and it was enough to make caps and coats for all of them, for both big and small ones. One day a woman comes. She carries a child (boy). She spins thus coming here up. She saw the fox, tucked a spindle under and turned it over from below. She stripped it off but even a cap for her boy could not come of it.

Now, listeners, think, which of them is the biggest: the ox, the eagle, the goat, the shepherd, the fox, the woman, or her son?

svanuri enis krestomația, No 233

8.12. Txere i žey

Ardx¹⁹³ ešxu jexw-čāš. Aljārs xordx¹⁹³ ešxu xoča lugwār žey. Ašxw lādey žey ačād cxeķte. Žeys laxxwid mājdar txere. Txere lāxčediw žeys: imya"ser li amzi lugwār. Žeyd xākwe¹⁴⁵, ere mič marol eser adjārix. Ečkas txere lāxčediw: imya"ser adjārix. Imya i kors i dabārs eser ilče letšw. Lādeyšw čw"eser ābemx. Letšw, cxāj, ž"ese pišwdex¹¹⁶. Txered xākwe: žāj eser xenqreni korte. Žeyd imed xākwe: ezer eserow. Čiškariš" esyerdx¹⁹³, ečkas txere xečād ešxu māres i yešd ādkine. Asād amzi mājdar txere.

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a-r-d-x ¹⁹³	ešxu	jexw-čāš.	alj-ār-s	x-o-r-d-x ¹⁹³
2:NVS-be-IF-PL	oneNOM	wife-husbandNOM	this-PL-DAT	2:him-ExVS-be-IF-PL
ešxu	xoča	lugwār žey.	ašxw	lādey žey a-čād
oneNOM	goodNOM	fat	dogNOM	oneDAT dayNOM.AV dogNOM 11:PV-went
cxeķ-te.	žey-s	la-x-xwi-d	mājdar	txere.
forest-to	dog-DAT	11:PV-to it-ExVS+meet-IF	hungry	wolfNOM
txere	lā+x-čed-iw	žey-s:	imya+"ser	li amzi lugwār.
wolfNOM	11:PV+to it+ExVS-ask-IF	dog-DAT	why+said	is thus fatNOM
žey-d	x-ā+kw-e ¹⁴⁵ ;	ere	mič	mar+ol eser
dog-ERG	11:to it-ExVS+said-AOR	that	thatDAT	man+PL said
ā+djār-i-x.	ečkas	txere	lā+x-čed-iw:	imya+"ser
1:PV+feed-THEME-PL	then	wolfNOM	11:PV+to it +ExVS-ask-IF	why-said
ā+djār-i-x.	imya	i	kor-s	i dab-ār-s eser
1:PV+feed-THEME-PL	why	also	house-DAT	also ground-PL-DAT said

i-lč-e	let-šw.	lādeγšw	čw''-eser	ä+bem-x.
1:IVS-guard-THEME	night-INST	day-INST	PV'+said	1:NVS+tie up-PL
let-šw,	cxäj,	ž''+ese	pišwd-e-x ¹¹⁶	txere-d
night-INST	indeed	PV'+said	1:let-THEME-PL	wolf-ERG
x-ä+kw-e:	žä+tj	eser	x-e-nqr-en-i	
11:to it-ExVS+said-AOR	itself+also	said	1:to it-ExVS-lead-MD-THEME	
kor-te.	žey-d	imed	x-ä+kw-e:	ezer
house-to	dog-ERG	Geor.hopeAV	11:to it-ExVS+said-AOR	good
eser-ow.	čiškar-isg''+tes-γər-d-x ¹⁹³	ečkas	txere	
said+PTC.CNJ	Geor.:gate-in+2:PV-go-IF-PL	then	wolfNOM	
x-e-čäd	ešxu	märe-s	i	yešd
11:him-ExVS-caught sight	one''NOM''	man-DAT	also	backwards
äd-kin-e.	a-säd	amži	mäjdär	txere.
11:PV+IVS-ran away-AOR	11:PV-remained	thus	hungryNOM	wolfNOM

A Wolf and a Dog

Once there lived a wife and a husband. They had a good fat dog. One day the dog went into the forest. A hungry wolf met him. The wolf asked the dog, "Why are you so fat?" The dog answered that his people fed him. Then the wolf asked, "Why do they feed you?" "That is because I guard the house and fields by night. By day they chain me up, by night they set me free, of course." The wolf said to him, he would also like to be led to the house. The dog willingly answered, "Well, be it so!"

While passing the gate the wolf saw a man and ran backwards. Thus the wolf remained hungry.

svanuri enis krestomašia, No 235

8.13. Šdugwi, šdugwi!

Šdugwi, šdugwi, qasarila,
Imte, imte? — Čem lašgomte.
Čem māj žār? — Gicriš.
Gicār im žāčo? — Mičws lāmquwiče.
Mičw māj žār? — Məškididš.
Məškid im žāčom¹⁹⁴? — Gäčs əmšqādne.
Gäč māj žār? — Meleywiš.
Meleyw im žāčom? — Čwāds¹⁹⁵ lāmxiwite.
Čwād māj žār? — Bopšreš.
Bopšār im žāčomx? — Šqāžws əmərminex.
Šqāžw māj žār? — Pätwä muxurjēle.
Pätw māj žār? — Katlä lešde.
Katal im žāčom? — Činčils lamhedwne.
Činčil māj žār? — Kataljāk.

Katal im žāčom? – Ləgrāls āmķwāne.
 Ləgrāl māj žār? – Ka leķwšune.
 Namķwiš māj žār? – Katlārjāk.
 Katlār im žāčox¹⁹⁴? – Ləgrāls adķwānex piširs.
 Ləgrāl māj žār? – Māj i erxi šdixya lehwdi.
 Šdix māj žār? – Lekurčil¹⁹⁶.
 Kwerçils jās xāčom? – Mišgwa lāmtils.
 Namsādw ləgrāl māj žār? – Bardanya lehwdi.
 Bardan māj žār? – Mišgwa xexwmi sačkwār¹⁹⁷.
 Xexw iša haswiš li? – Keķnaša.
 Keķnaša ime izge x? – Žihār nēsgajisga.
 Isgwi kor ime li? – Gwem žikān ləčērisga.
 Magwār kor žīg? – Gun ezer: lāsigid dēmxān li.
 Lājsad māj žiri? – Lugwār pexli nākwič i semi gaķ
 Letre žiqīda mā? – Ādu.
 Imxān axāj? – Jursalāmxān āmqid nišgwej maxwšid.
 Māj periš li? – Decmēpxēmiš.
 Čwili lasgwrād māj žaga? – Kādri čərel apxw.
 Magwār lačwāš li isgu xexw? – Čer čukwān ežgwār dār āri.
 Kwerçilte māčsine mā? – Žāčsine.
 Im'' ēmsguri? – Tablā¹⁹⁸ txum.
 Im emdēsgi? – Šdix žekwdeni-jā gaķ, čī eš ežhāri.
 Meyrālād jār gweqēnix? – Čerčnāj šdugwār ōbāš.

svanuri poezia, I, No 76b

Pelėne, pelėne!

Pelėne, pelėne, išdykautojau,
 Kurlink, kurlink? – Šieno prašyti.
 Šienas koks (kaš per) tau-yr? – Ėriuko.
 (Kam tau šienas? – Dėl ėriuko)
 Ėriukas ką tau-veiks? – Ragą nu-man-silauš (nusilauš man).
 Ragas koks tau-yr? – Kalvio.
 Kalvis ką tau-veiks? – Peilį numikals.
 Peilis koks tau-yr? – Mėsininko.
 Mėsininkas ką tau-veiks? – Pjausnį atmipjaus.
 Pjausnys koks tau-yr? – Vaikų.
 Vaikai ką tau-veiks? – Putpelę man-pagaus.
 Putpelė kokia tau-yr? – Soros lasiotoja.
 Sora kokia tau-yr? – Vištos (vištai) pabertina.
 Višta ką tau-veiks? – Viščiuką man-duos.
 Viščiukas koks tau-yr? – Dėl vištos.
 Višta ką tau-veiks? – Kiaušinius man-dės.

Kiaušiniai kokie tau-yr? – Perėtini.
 Išperėti kokie tau-yr? – Dėl vištų.
 Vištos ką tau-veiks? – Kiaušinius padės gausius.
 (Further on the "Baltic" pattern is broken:)
 Kiaušiniai kokie tau-yr? – Kokie, tai dažnas dėl riešuto duotinas
 (į riešutus įmaišyti).
 Riešutas koks tau-yr? – Vestuvinis.
 Vestuvės kam veiksi (darysi = kelsi)? – Mano žmonos giminaičiui.
 Atliktiniai kiaušiniai kokie tau-yr? – Dėl audinio duotini
 (už audinį atiduotini, atiduoti).
 Audinys koks tau-yr? – Mano žmonos dovana(i).
 Žmona kieno dukra yra? – Keknanų.
 Keknanai kur gyvena? – Džiharo viduryje.
 Tavo namas kur yra? – Viršum karvidės lubininėje.
 Koksai namas tau-stovintis? – Labai geras: vaizdo iš niekur nėra.
 Skersti kas tau-yra (ką turi)? – Riebių taukų gabalas ir trys graikiški riešutai.
 Gėrimas tavo-atgabenta? – Taip.
 Iš kur paėmei? – Iš Jėruzalės atmigabeno mūsų (pelių) vadas.
 Kokios spalvos yra? – Dangaus spalvos.
 Nuotaka pasodinti ką turi? – Žemės rainą varlę.
 Kokios išvaizdos yra tavo žmona? – Po lubomis jai-lygi niekas yra (nėra).
 Į vestuvėles pamikviesi? – Patikviesiu.
 Kur mane pasodinsi? – Stalo galvoje.
 Ką pamidėsi? – Riešuto panorėsi-ar graikiško riešuto, visko šiaip tau pribersiu.
 Dainininkais ką mes visi turėsime? – Cypių peliū(kščių) gausiai.

Oh Mouse, Mouse!

Oh mouse, mouse, the naughty one,
 Where, where are you hurrying? – To ask for hay.
 What do you need hay for? – For a ram.
 What will the ram do for you? – It will break its horn for me.
 What do you need the horn for? – For a smith.
 What will the smith do for you? – He will forge a knife for me.
 What do you need the knife for? – For a butcher.
 What will the butcher do for you? – He will cut a schnitzel for me.
 What do you need the schnitzel for? – For children.
 What will the children do for you? – They will catch a quail for me.
 What do you need the quail for? – To gather a millet.
 What do you need the millet for? – To strew it to a hen.
 What will the hen do for you? – It will give me a chicken.
 What do you need the chicken for? – For a hen.
 What will the hen do for you? – It will lay me eggs.

What do you need the eggs for? — For hatching.
 What do you need the hatched ones for? — For hens.
 What will the hens do for you? — They will lay many eggs.
 What do you need the eggs for? — What I need is to mix some (of them) up in nuts.
 What do you need the nuts for? — For a wedding.
 Who do you arrange the wedding for? — For my wife's relative.
 What do you need the left (spare) eggs for? — To let them being had for a cloth.
 What do you need the cloth for? — For wife's presenting.
 Whose daughter is your wife? — The Kecnans'.
 Where do the Kecnans dwell? — In the middle of Djihar.
 Where is your house? — In the ceiling arranged over the cowshed.
 What house is standing for you there? — A very good house: there is no sight of it
 from anywhere.
 What do you have to be butchered? — A cut of fat grease and three walnuts.
 Have you brought any drink? — Yea.
 Where have you taken it from? — Our chief has brought it for me from Jerusalem.
 What colour is it? — The sky's colour.
 Who do you have (to sit) for a bride? — A streaky land frog.
 What appearance is your wife of? — Nobody equal to her lives under the ceiling.
 Will you invite me to the wedding? — I will invite you.
 Where will you seat me? — At the head of the table.
 What will you put for me? — Nuts or walnuts, whatever you desire, so I will strew
 you all.
 Whom shall we have for singers? — Squeaky little mice in plenty.

svanuri poezia, I, No 76b (abridged)

8.14. Nätelä

Woʒ sabrala Nätelä,
 Simind ejʒwe Nenqeraxen,
 Šuḱwlišga lebild ajxwija¹⁹⁹,
 Lapeṛčämiču läjšxuna.
 Šel-šel ajsema yešgimxen,
 Xoša herčem çeşxzi žäywça;
 Näteläs paquld xoḱwara²⁰⁰,
 Herčemd mole laxkunale,
 Häḱed xaqid, gänte adkwär.
 Näteläs čapel xoḱwara,
 Herčem čapelsi xäsedä,
 Näteläs kaed xäyeča...
 Näteläs korte xohija.
 — A, xola eser ži zural,
 Qor-laqwra xočamdoyw ačwmin²⁰¹,

Xola mušgwri eser bac xarx,
Lädi čəšxži mič rok xəywça.

Hams zural ži olgeneli,
Laqwr" otqara, baž k"atčeda:
Qeräs sam workecd xəcxepa,
Gelärsäps txwim nensg/a (/ " ?) xədena.

Näteläjišw čäng xohodax,
Ži loxbina lihširäl(*-?)²⁰²:
Mädilšw eser xeqəräl(*-?)
Ka oγw eswkax(*-?) korxenka!
Limzur-didäbs eser ičo,
Twit sopels isg" eser ächi.

Herçems(*-?) txwim ži xoqida,
Ž"(?)ad xoqira nädisgwži;
Näteläs cxwi-cəqemd xohra,
Herçemd qinčxlisga xoqira:
Herçems(*-?) lixer xobina,
Näteläs likwcel xobina.

Ečxen herçem išertkanel,
Amxen Nätelä iknowäl.
Usgwa mara säwčəwt" eswdax,
Unčga xabnol isga loxbax,
Sga xopišwdax Rijente (?)

svanuri poezia, I, No 67

wož	sabralla	nätelä.	simind	e-j-γwe
oh	Geor.:poor	NatelaNOM	Geor.:maizeNOM	1:PV(es)-thee-carry
nenqera-xen,		šukw-l-isga	leb-ild	a-j-xwij-a,
LenkherDAT-from		road-DIMIN-in	bead-DIMIN.NOM	13:PV-thee-find-RSL
läpərçämi-ču		lä+j-šxun-a.		šəl-šəl
cartridge-case-under		13:PV+thee+"IVS"-keep-RSL		rustleNOM
a-j-səm-a		γešgim-xen,	xoša	herçem
13:PV-thee-hear-RSL		behind-from	bigNOM	serpentNOM
š-ä+γwç-a;		nätelä-s	paq-uld	footDAT-on
8:thee-NVS+follow-RSL		Natela-DAT	cap-DIMIN.NOM	
x-o-ķwar-a,		herçem-d	mole	la-x-kunal-e,
13:her-"ExVS"-hurl-RSL		serpent-ERG	a bit	11:PV-to it-snuff-AOR
häked	x-a-qid,	gän-te		ad-ķwār.
tailABS	11:to it-NVS-hit	Geor.:from-to		11:PV-hurled
nätelä-s	čapəl	x-o-ķwar-a,		herçem
Natela-DAT	shoeNOM	13:her-"ExVS"-hurl-RSL		serpentNOM
čapəl-s-i	x-ä+sed-a,		nätelä-s	kaəd
shoe-DAT-also	13:to it-"NVS"+avoid-RSL		Natela-DAT	again
x-ä+γeç-a...		nätelä-s	kor-te	
13:her-"NVS"+follow-RSL		Natela-DAT	house-to	

x-o-hi-j-a. a, xola eser ži zural,
 13:her-"ExVS"-reach-GLIDE-RSL oh quickly! said she womanNOM
 gor-laqwra xočamd-oγw a+čwmin, xola mušgwri
 door-windowABS well.PTC.CNJ 11:PV(ad)+make bad guestNOM
 eser bac x-ar-x, lädi čəšx-ži mič rok
 said possible 1:him-be-PL to-day footDAT-on herDAT said
 x-ä+γwč-a. ham-s zural ži
 8:her-NVS+follow-RSL morning-LOC/DAT womanNOM PV'up
 o+lgene+li, laqwr'+ ot-ķar-a,
 13:PV(an)+stood+is windowNOM+13:PV(ad)+her+"ExVS"-open-RSL
 baž k'+at-čed-a: ķerā-s sam
 mindNOM PV'+13:PV+her-go-RSL baking-table-DAT threeDAT
 worķec-d x-ä+cxep-a, gelāršāp-s txwim
 twofold-TFM.AV 13:to it-"NVS"+wind-RSL Geor.:draggon-DAT headNOM
 nensga x-ä+d-en-a. nätelä-j-iš-w
 in the middle 13:to it-"NVS"+lay-PRT.MD-RSL Natela-GLIDE-GEN-for
 čäng x-o-hod-a-x, ži lox-bin-a
 changNOM 13:him-"ExVS"-give-RSL-PL PV' 13:PV+her+"ExVS"-begin-RSL
 lihširāl: mādil-šw eser x-e-qərāl, ka
 M.shair-recitingNOM grace-INST said 1:to it-ExVS-entreat PV'
 oγw es-w-kax kor-xenka! limzur-didāb-s
 PTC.CNJ 11:PV-to it+ExVS-remove house-out of prayer-adoration-DAT
 eser i-čo, twit sopel-s isg'+teser
 said 1(4):IVS-make Geor.:each Geor.:village-LOC/DAT in+said
 ä+čh-i. herčem-s txwim ži
 5:NVS+invite-THEME serpent-DAT headNOM PV'
 x-o-ķid-a, ž'+ad x-o-qir-a
 13:to it-"ExVS"-took-RSL again 13:to it-"ExVS"-hit-RSL
 nādisgw-ži nätelä-s cxwi-cəqəmd x-o-hr-a,
 laidDAT-on; Natela-DAT arrow-bowNOM 13:her-"ExVS"-ask-RSL
 herčem-d ķinčxl-isga x-o-qir-a: herčem-s
 serpent-TFM neck-in 13:her-"ExVS"-hit-RSL serpent-DAT
 lixer x-o-bin-a, nätelä-s
 M.collapsingNOM 13:to it-"ExVS"-begin-RSL Natela-DAT
 liķwcel x-o-bin-a. ečxen herčem
 M.moaningNOM 13:her-"ExVS"-begin-RSL there serpentNOM
 i-šərtkanel, amxen nätelä i-knowäl. usgwa mara
 1:IVS-coil here NatelaNOM 1:IVS-agonize sixDAT manDAT
 sāwčāw-t'+ es-w-d-a-x, unčga xabn-ol
 sledge-to+13:PV-him+"ExVS"-put-RSL-PL untrained bullock-PL.NOM
 isga lox-b-a-x, sga x-o-pišwd-a-x
 PV' 13:PV+him+"ExVS"-tie-RSL-PL PV' 13:him-"ExVS"-let-RSL-PL
 rijen-te.
 Rion-to

Oh poor Natela,
 You are carrying maize from Lenkher,
 On the road you have found a small bead,
 You have kept it under the cartridge-case bag.
 You have heard a rustle from behind,
 A big serpent had been following close behind you;
 Natela (has) hurled a small cap²⁰⁰,
 The serpent a bit snuffed,
 With its tail hit, away hurled it (threw the cap away).

Natela hurled a shoe,
 The serpent avoided the shoe, too,
 Close behind Natela it followed again...
 Natela reached her house.

— Come along, oh woman,
 The door-windows shut²⁰¹ well!
 They have a bad guest possible,
 To-day close behind her it has followed.

In the morning the woman stood up,
 A window she opened, her mind went away (went clouded):
 Round the iron baking-table it had threefold wound,
 The dragon had laid its head in the middle.

To Natela they gave a chang¹⁴²,
 She began shair-reciting²⁰⁴.

— She kindly entreats it,
 It should go away from the house!
 Prayer-adoration she will do,
 A person of each home of the village she will invite.

The serpent raised its head,
 Once again hit the place where it had been laid;
 Natela asked for an arrow-bow,
 The serpent's neck she hit:
 The serpent began collapsing,
 Natela began moaning.

There the serpent is coiling,
 Here Natela is agonizing.
 Six men put it on a sledge,
 Untrained bullocks they tied to it,
 They let it down into Engur.

9. COMMENTS

- ¹m. *lǫri*; for -e- see 4.3.2.2.1.11.
- ²n.r., see 5.1; m. *litne*.
- ³m. *lizgre*.
- ⁴As not conforming to Svan reality, the expression is entirely adopted from Georgian: even the Svan inflexion INST -šw would make the word unintelligible to the Svans.
- ⁵m. *litwri*.
- ⁶Geor. *sagan-i*.
- ⁷m. *lišdāb*.
- ⁸Without Lith. NOM -s according to the rules of transcription of Lithuanian proper names into Georgian.
- ⁹Geor. *m-a-inṭeres-eb-s*, -eb- being a thematical suffix, and -s being a Georgian inflexion.
- ¹⁰NOM.SG *nin*.
- ¹¹Geor. *sakartvelo* 'Georgia' of the Georgian derivational model *sz--o*.
- ¹²Georgian words with Geor. SF -ur-/ul-.
- ¹³Geor. *mimarteba* + -ze = Svan -ži 'on'.
- ¹⁴m. *limurži*.
- ¹⁵m. *ličwdāni*.
- ¹⁶m. *lirde*. The verb of existing, living is based on two suppletive stems: the stem of the root *r* in 1—4, and the stem of the root *rd* (with the generalized IF -d) in the other screeves.
- ¹⁷m. *liqwbē*.
- ¹⁸m. *liqūli*.
- ¹⁹n. d., m. *ligəgāli*.
- ²⁰The river (*Y*)engur (Geor. *Ingur-i*) flows from the East down to the West and falls into the Black Sea in Megrelia. *Djvar-i* (Geor. 'cross') is the last Megrelian (Mingrelian) settlement on the road from the East in the Megrelia lowland to the West, towards Svania high in the rocks.
- ²¹m. *libne*.
- ²²m. *ligəgāli*.
- ²³*usurmān* 'Moslem' — the Svan name for the North Caucasus with its Cherkhez and Kabardian population. Savage carnages were the historical characteristic of the relations between the Orthodox Svans and Georgians on the one hand and of their martial Moslem neighbours, the Cherkhezs, Kabardians, Ossetians, Chechens, Ingushs, Avars, Lezgins a. o., on the other. *usurmān* < Arabic PL *muṣlimūn* 'Moslems'.
- ²⁴m. *ličše*.

- 25^{n.} d. *lāz*, m. *līzi* 'going'.
- 26^{m.} *ližāx* from *žaxe* 'name'.
- 27^{GEN} *šwānjā(š)* enables the reconstruction NOM *šwān* < **šwanja* 'Svania', GEN **šwanjaš*. The well-known name Svanetia is a Russian hybrid from Geor. *svan-et-i*, -i being a nominative inflexion, and -et- — a suffix for the names of countries (cf. also Kakheti+a, Os(s)eti+a). Since the root used in the name of population (*mu-/šwan-* has no -j- (SG *mušwān* but PL *šwanār*), it seems to be interesting to compare the Svan derivative **šwanja* with the IE. -yā- derivatives.
- 28^{soplār}, SG *sopel* is a Georgian literary word *sopel-i* 'village'.
- 29^{sgāw} 'inside' is the Svan name for Transcaucasian (inner) Georgia.
- 30^{Svan zān} < *zan-* (*NOM -i) is the ancient name of Megreli (French → Russ. Mingreli) and Lazs (Chans).
- 31^{The so-called 'unsnowy period'}, i. e. spring, summer, autumn.
- 32^{Svan kartwil} is Geor. *kartul-i* 'The Georgian language'.
- 33^{lāmār} < **l-ma-īr* with the root generalized from the IVS **īr(a)*, cf. 6.3.3.2-3; m. also *līre* 'being enough', 'having', cf. fn. 16.
- 34^{m. linčamw} with the secondary nasalization before *ç* is obviously the same Geor. *çam-/çm-* 'believing' which we should like to connect with Geor. *çm-en/-in-* "(ritually) pure" → 'clean' and 'holy', 'saint'.
- 35^{m. lixəlçip} 'reign(ing)' from *xelçip* 'king' is a Georgian compound *xelmçip-* 'ruler'.
- 36^{The suffix PRT.MD -ān} may be denasalized in this verbs, forms like *xeqādx* are very often; m. *liqēne*.
- 37^{Geor. xeb-} 'to touch', 'to concern'.
- 38^{-a} seems to be a versionizer NVS. Cf. fn. 33, 16.
- 39^{A compound:} *zwer* 'flesh', *i* 'also', 'and', *leyw* 'meat'; for *leyw* it is interesting to compare the Semitic *lahm-* 'meat' → *food in general → Hebrew *leḥem* 'bread' with the initially broad sense (cf. 'our everyday bread' going back to this sense) on the one hand and the Georgian *leyw-i* 'fig' (← *food?) from the Kartvelian root 'meat' on the other hand (G. K l i m o v, 1964, reconstructs Kartv. **layw* — is it identical to Semitic?).
- 40^{m. lišdne}.
- 41^{A verbal noun without the auxiliary verb 'be'}; m. *liqwel*.
- 42^{m. limqeri}
- 43^{Static}, m. *lised*.
- 44^{A Georgian word mecniér-i} 'scientist'.
- 45^{A Georgian compound word kveqana}.
- 46^{m. licxre}.
- 47^{n. r., m. ličādi}.
- 48^{Hadish} is known as Georgian Adishi, after which one of the first (897) Georgian Gospel Codices is named. The story concerns this Gospel.
- 49^{m. lišnāw}.
- 50^{tāringzel}, Mulakh *tāringlazeli*, Lendjer *tāringlezéri*, LB *targlezer* is Geor. *mtavar(i)angeloz-i* 'main angel' = 'archangel'. Adishi's Gospel was kept in Hadish's Church of St. Michael regarded as the guardian of Hadish. Up to now every church in Svania is under the protection of the local kin. For centuries these churches have developed into centres of an essentially new customary heathen practice, neither needing orthodox liturgy, nor priests. Since World War II there has

not been a single priest in Upper and Lower Svania; however, none of the Svans, who consider themselves orthodox and are far from scientific materialism at least in the pre-war generation, worries about it, because as in the past, all churches are taken care of with all their icons and other magical sanctities protecting Svania from enemies and disasters.

51 **ad-me-qed-ēl-li*, m. *liqed*.

52 Cf. 4.6.5.

53 m. *ličwād*.

54 m. *ličād*.

55 m. *liječx*; the *ä*-vocalism points out the aorist.

56 m. *lišgwem*.

57 m. *ličex*.

58 NOM *nāmbizi*, an abstract noun derived via the noun of actor from the word *biz* 'surfeit'; cf. the Svan jeer expression *bizan māma xaqhuni* 'he is not afraid of surfeit'.

59 m. *ličmurjēl*, iter.

60 m. *lihwāri*.

61 m. *ličed*. Svan churches are of stone, mostly small, with their old age grown into the earth and rocks. Usually they show on hills or woody slopes over the villages and are constantly watched over. One day in June 1977, L. Palmaitis, who had already been living in Latli for about five days, went from eastern part of this village to its remote northern part by the beautiful road circling from the East to the North. On the hill to the left he noticed a youth moving quickly among the trees in the same direction. While coming back, he noticed the same youth hastening in the opposite direction. Then another youth appeared on the road with the strict questions to L. Palmaitis, 'What do you want here? Where are you from?' — there was a church on the hill.

62 m. *likre*.

63 m. *ličpūre*.

64 m. *ličweč*.

65 NOM.SG *kašäg*.

66 m. *ličwēne*.

67 m. *lirmāli*, iter. The fate of those two Kabardians is obvious without comment. The Svans, who until quite recently have ruined themselves in vendetta in cold blood, do not seem to think much before exterminating the real enemies. Icon stealers are usually stoned to death. The last incident, during which a Georgian student was killed in this way, took place about 15 years ago.

68 ime *āntxānx*, m. *litxi*.

69 m. *ličed*.

70 m. *ličliče*.

71 m. *lične*.

72 *ameču* reduced.

73 Geor. *aγ-špot-eba* 'being indignant'.

74 m. *liylāti*.

75 m. *līmbwi*.

76 n. d. *lāfw*, m. *lifw*.

77 m. *likrāwi*.

78 *gwi axwēm*x, m. *lihwdi*.

- 79-a being a demonstrative particle.
- 80m. *liji*, *lijēsg*
- 81non-NOM *am*, which is either an archaism or, on the contrary, repeats the Georgian pattern *am* *game-s*, i. e. instead of modern Svan **al*"NOM" *lēr*NOM.AV.
- 82m. *likāl*, the absence of the umlaut points to the aorist.
- 83m. *liqed*, the *i*-vocalism of the stem points to the aorist.
- 84m. *lihe*.
- 85*xobrājān* is i st. 2v (intransitive statical bivalent).
- 86m. *liqēne* 'having of smb., smth. an.'; cf. fn. 36.
- 87There is a modern Institute for Manuscripts of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR in Tbilisi.
- 88m. *linbe*.
- 89Geor., *mtavroba*.
- 90m. *ličēd*, the aorist is seen from the root vocalism *ē*.
- 91m. *likwec*, the root ablaut points to the aorist.
- 92m. *lišxwni*.
- 93It keeps on decaying there, as well as other exhibits, under the harmful conditions of the old unfit building, alternating temperature, dampness and the danger of invading rats.
- 94*ǰwinel* 'old'.
- 95See 3.13 and 4.6.3; since the dative form without *-s* usually coincides with the nominative form (cf. DAT *kor-* vs. NOM *kor*), and since that coincidence is confirmed by the preservation of the umlaut also in the non-nominative cases, except the instrumental (though cf. 4.2.1.6), we have no formal grounds to define the form preceding a postposition as DAT in such instances; cf. NOM *kor* 'house', *tanāy* 'mountain pass' vs. *kor čukwān* 'below the house', *tanāy čukwān* 'below the pass'.
- 96m. *liter*.
- 97a resultative *na*-derivative from *kor* 'house'.
- 98m. *licxəp*.
- 99**lə-maqəd-win* < **l-maqəd-un-i*; m. *liqed*.
- 100**ad-mečēd-ēl-li*; m. *ličēd*.
- 101a loan-word, cf. Arabic *sūk* '(market-)street'.
- 102m. *licəx*.
- 103m. *lišed*; cf. fn. 43.
- 104m. *lixāl*.
- 105m. *ličiwāri*.
- 106m. *lišjāl*.
- 107an example of suppletivity: m. *liqed*.
- 108m. *likče* 'standing vertically'.
- 109m. *ličed*.
- 110m. *lidgāri*.
- 111m. *likwkwewi*.
- 112m. *likwem*.

- 113 m. *ličkwāri*.
 114 m. *ličwme*.
 115 m. *likme*.
 116 m. *lipšwde*.
 117 m. *liřwe*.
 118 m. *ližwme*.
 119 m. *ličwēne*.
 120 m. *ličwme*.
 121 m. *liqer*; also *liqrīne* though not in this sense.
 122 m. *lišp*.
 123 m. *limbže*.
 124 m. *liřqwep*.
 125 m. *ličwēni*.
 126 m. *lišqēne*.
 127 m. *litwep*.
 128 m. *likre*; -w- after *k* is a rare irregularity in the 11. *ančār*.
 129 a masdar-form from the word *pusd* 'lord'.
 130 Geor. *neba*.
 131 m. *lihwdi*.
 132 m. *ličwāšine*.
 133 -ār derivative expressing the possession of some feature — here of that expressed by the noun of destination *lakdune* from the verb m. *likdune* 'misleading'.
 134 m. *ličwhure*.
 135 m. *liřxe*.
 136 m. *lišdγwi*.
 137 m. *liži*, a suppletive verb; the form *γari*, 1 pers. *γuri* is derived according to the group III. Cf. *anyri*, fn. 107.
 138 m. *linqrīne*.
 139 In A. S h a n i d z e's edition the borrowing *čirisupāl* ← Geor. compound *čirisupal-i* is used. The nearest relative of the deceased plays the central role in the Kartvelian burial rites.
 140 Literally 1: 'wants'; it is used synonymously to 12. *xekwes* 'would want'.
 141 Geor. *locva*.
 142 A lyre-type oriental stringed instrument.
 143 Geor. *mamal-i* is used in Lower Bal instead of Svan *qwič*; Lendjer and especially Latli are strongly influenced by neighbouring Lower Bal. Svans have a dread of night creatures such as cats and cocks. Here a cock is used as an "indicator" of the soul (see fn. 147).
 144 m. *liqdāni*.
 145 m. *liqle* and *likwīsg*, a suppletive verb.
 146 An adverbialized LOC/DAT **lāylijaš-s* with the assimilated -s.
 147 m. *ličxine*, the verb usually means 'to drive in, through'; a cock seems to be sensitive to bio-

fields and, while set free, squats as a hen near a place where someone has recently died — this moment is left out of the narration; only afterwards the cock is taken in the hands again.

148_{m.} *lipeš*.

149_{m.} *lišwme*.

150_{m.} *lišwmīne*.

151_{m.} *liqālwe*.

152_{m.} *lihi*.

153 Compound word: *došdul* 'moon', *maxe* 'new'.

154_{m.} *limšije*.

155 Cf. fn. 38, 33, 16.

156_{m.} *lizweb* 'to eat' and 'food'.

157_{m.} *lidēsgi*.

158_{m.} *lisqēne*, here is a *-na*-derivative of the resultative sense.

159_{m.} *libqwe*.

160_{m.} *licwre*.

161_{m.} *likwce*.

162 *-na*-derivative of the abstract meaning from *mašri* 'wide'.

163_{m.} *lišgīne* 'bees' swarming'.

164_{m.} *lipixəne*.

165_{m.} *libpxənāli*.

166_{m.} *ligem*.

167_{m.} *likwtunāli*.

168_{m.} *lixwje*.

169 A masdar-form 'marianizing'; St. Maria's name has not been in use since a long time ago. Our Lady is usually named Lamarya, Lamara (here is the source of the corresponding Georgian name) according to the n. d. *lamārja* 'Marian', the personified name of the church consecrated to St. Maria.

170 *sadgwe*m is Geor. *sadgom-i* with *sa-* = Svan *la-*.

171 *xarāb* is Geor. *xareba*.

172 A Georgian word *paṭiv-i*; the verb in the expression *xāčom pāṭiws* 'he does for them (him, etc.) honour', i. e. 'he honours them', is suppletive, using in the 2nd series of screeves the forms of the verb 'to hit' (as in Georgian 'to hit honour'), m. *liqrīne*, cf. fn. 121.

173 Geor. *sa-magier-o* 'corresponding'.

174_{m.} *liqle* 'speaking' and Geor. *ēxub-i* 'scuffle'.

175 The oeconym Koruldāš is degenerative (*-āš!*) as it is typical of Kartvelian (especially in East Georgia).

176 Word of Iranian origin, cf. Persian *pāhlivān* 'hero'; Svan seems to demonstrate the missing link of the semantical development of this Iranism from 'hero' to Slavic 'idol', Russian 'dolt', i. e. 'hero' → 'honourable, rich person' → 'idol' → 'block-head'.

177 *mezge*, formally 'dweller', usually means a collective, here — 'family', 'farm'; m. *lizge*.

178 Derivative from the word *čāž* 'horse'.

179 *abāz* equals to 20 Russian copecks, *šawur* — to 5 copecks; historical Geor. *abaz-i*, *šaur-i* of the Iranian origin.

- 180 Svan derivative from Geor. *kveit-i* 'dismounted'.
- 181 Svan derivative with the suffix of abstracts *-ob* of the Georgian (*-oba*) origin from Svan *lic* 'water', the non-NOM stem being *læc*.
- 182 Defensive towers are typical of the mountain settlements in the Caucasus. Moslem towers are rounded, the Svan ones are square. Built of stone at every dwelling-house, they were indispensable private fortresses and observation posts in war and vendetta.
- 183 An inclusive form, the teller addressing to his countrymen.
- 184 From *nagzi* 'week'.
- 185 An example of linguistic interference: the Georgian plu-perfect pattern *qopil-igo* is literally repeated in Svan *ləmār-läsw*.
- 186 The deve and Amiran are personages of the Kartvelian hunting epos about Amiran, paralleled in Abkhazian "Narts" as well as in the Greek version of shackled Prometheus, and in the Akkadian epos of Gilgamesh.
- 187 Non-nominative bare-stem form instead of **ašwe* or *ešwi* – see 4.2.4 with the foot-note.
- 188 *sgwebne(š)*, *γwešgme(š)* are fossilized genitive adjuncts.
- 189 See 3.14.
- 190 UB *mičw*, PL *mučwār*.
- 191 The sense is specified by the prefixes: *oxšqād* < **anxošqeda* with *an-*, and *otšqād* < *adxošqeda* with *ad-*.
- 192 *lekwa*, *leža* mean correspondingly downward, or western, and upward, or eastern, direction. As it is seen in *lekwaš*, these adverbs may be perceived as genitive adjuncts.
- 193 *ardx*, *xordx*, *esyərdx* are LB forms for the UB *ardax*, *xordax*, *esʔurdax* with *-da* of the imperfect.
- 194 *šāčom*, *xāčom* (3v ExVS *x-e-*, cf. 2.1.2.2) are parallel forms to *šāčo*, *xāčo*, etc., the masdar being *ličwme* (cf. fn. 114). Nevertheless the final *-m(e)* does not seem to be a theme since it remains in the ergative (aorist) series of screeves. AOR 11, AOR. CNJ 12 with the final *-n* entirely reveal the identity of Svan *li-čwme*, with its "satemic" *č*, to the Georgian verb *kmna* 'doing'.
- 195 Geor. *mčvad-i*.
- 196 Geor. *korčili*.
- 197 Geor. *sačukari*.
- 198 Kartvelians had no tables. This word is of Romanic origin.
- 199 *j-* for *š-* before a consonant (*ašxwija*, *lāšxcuna*, *ašəma*, etc.) is regular in the LB subdialects of Lakmul and Etser (as well as in Lashkh, cf. 4.3.1.6) due to phonetical reasons.
- 200 Here and further mostly modus relativus, i. e. the perfect of the rendered speech (not everywhere preserved in the translation).
- 201 Literally 'make (the door)' – the use of the verb 'to make' in the sense of 'to shut' is typical also of Lithuanian, cf. the by German *auf-*: *zu-machen*, though contrasting to *öffnen* : *schliessen* which are not paralleled in Lithuanian.
- 202 Breach of this typically Svan syllabic metre requires reconstruction of a vowel here.
- 203 The other version of this story, "Natela and Segzild" is placed under No 95 in the same A. Shanidze's edition as a mythological plot because of Natela's godfather Christ descending to help Segzild to overcome lots of serpents and to save Natela. Nevertheless this version seems to be much younger than that under No 67 without Christ and with Natela and the single serpent both perishing. In the No 95 version the etymological connection of the name Natela with the Georgian root for baptizing is obviously emphasized. However, the root *natl-* is connected with

the primary meaning of shining, from which the Georgian name Natela itself comes. We do not know the common Kartvelian name of the heroine of the plot, although the Georgian etymology makes us associate it with the cult of the sun. Since the serpent's aim seems to be sexual, the relations between the celestial and the khthonical personages as well as the fight between them are to be conjectured. The Lithuanian version of this plot consists of two metamorphic elements: the conversion of the serpent into a handsome youth and the conversion of his beloved woman (wife) and their children into trees. Both heroes perish – the same is in the Svan version, though in the latter the purpose of Natela's death is not clear. In the Lithuanian version the purpose of the death of Eglė (fir-tree) is newly remotivated. The twelve evil brothers of Eglė undoubtedly correspond to the six men throwing the killed serpent into the Engur. Two unclear but typically metamorphic elements are represented in the Svan version, too, i. e. throwing of things on the road (a cap, a shoe). The Georgian etymology of the woman's name as well as the fight between the celestial and the khthonical personages make us connect the Lithuanian Eglė with the female morning-star deity of *Aušrinė*, Latv. *Austiņa*, and to reconstruct the name of Baltic Natela as **Ušrā*. Finally it must be underlined that, while the beloved of Eglė lives in the sea, the serpent of the Svan version is for some reason thrown into the Engur. The river Engur (here named after the river Rion, the biggest river in West Georgia) falls into the Black Sea, however, another explanation is possible. The word Rion-Engur appeared only when the Svans settled to the mountains after they had migrated from the Megrelian Lowland. Thus they must have lived on the sea-shore, on both sides of the outfall of the Rion. The metre is broken at the very end of the story again, therefore something like LB **zuywatejsa* 'into the sea' can be reconstructed there. If so, the Sea of Eglė's husband appears to be Black, not Baltic, and maybe it is even the Mediterranean Sea (the archaic symbol of the Sea as that of Chaos is not denied by this conclusion, of course).

²⁰⁴ Arabic versification term adopted from Persian via Georgian.

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